National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION IN FRAMINGHAM, JULY 4, 1866.

THE Fourth of July was hot as usual, but a pleasant breeze blew, and a large number of people came from Boston, Worcester, and the intervening towns, not to speak of more distant ones, to hold the customary Anti-Slavery meeting, at the beautiful grove in Framingham.

The meeting was called to order by Rev. J. T. SARGENT, who made a few preliminary remarks, regretting the continued necessity of an Anti-Slavery meeting, but rejoicing in the favorable circumstances of the day, and the large attendance that already appeared. A hymn was then sung, written for the occasion by Rev. G. W. STACY of Milford.

Mr. SARGENT, who presided at this meeting, then read a letter of greeting from FREDERICK DOUGLASS, which was printed in last week's STANDARD.

HENRY GWINN, an emancipated slave, formerly of Savannah, then made an address to the audience. He heartily endorsed the sentiments of Frederick Douglass's letter. He felt himself to have been lifted, as by electric power, from the position of slavery to that of citizenship. He had raised a proportion of those black guides who so greatly facilitated Sherman's march through Georgia. Mr. Gwinn went on to speak of the past condition of the slaves, of the favorable change in their condition and prospects, and of the necessity of continued exertion to gain the suffrage for them.

Mr. G. W. STACY here offered a resolution, a copy of which we failed to obtain.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND of Salem then addressed the meeting. He was glad to be able to take a more cheerful view of affairs than formerly, but he came here because he saw distinctively Anti-Slavery action still to be needed. Vainly are we called freemen until we attain citizenship in the largest sense. The colored man has been emancipated after a sort, but his full manhood is not yet recognized. It is not enough for me to be free in Massachusetts. My friends in South Carolina also must be free. We must continue still to meet together in advocacy of freedom. Mr. Remond thanked his friends Miss Dickinson and Miss Mattie Griffith for coming from their distant places of residence to such a meeting as this, and he wished that all the accustomed attendants on this Fourth of July gathering had been disposed to join us here.

WENDELL PHILLIPS was the next speaker.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

I will commence, ladies and gentlemen, by reading three resolutions :

Resolved, That Congress has, under the war power, and should now exercise, the authority to prescribe and protect the citizen's right to land, education and the ballot in the several States, especially the rebellious States.

Resolved, That no plan of reconstruction is feasible which does not include our retaining military control of the Southern States for several years, until Northern men and capital can safely go there.

Resolved, That in our opinion, the proposed Amendment to the Constitution is an infamous breach of the national pledges to negroes, unsound in principle and impracticable ; a party trick designed only for electioneering purposes ; that its authors neither wish nor expect its adoption ; and we urge on all honest men to trample it under their feet and prepare themselves for such a reconstruction as will be just to the negroes, honorable to the nation, safe, durable and equal.

This is the fourth day of July, a day which for ninety years the nation has devoted to the sublime idea that "all men are created equal." But we all know that the words have been for nearly ninety years a "glittering generality"—a cruel lie—empty and idle words, coming from hypocritical lips. We all know that the nation never, until within a year or two, made an effort to make these words a reality. God to-day binds the nation to the performance of its pledge. This day is to be performance or ruin. The war has broken the great national hypocrisy, and revealed to us that only by making this pledge the corner-stone of national institutions does God grant us the chance of a nationality. Well, how do we stand to-day ? What was the meaning of that first line in the Declaration of Independence ? Up to that hour nations were builded upon the idea of a subordination of rank, a gradation of classes. The rich, the educated, the well-born were to protect the "ill-favored classes," as they called them. Our fathers launched the idea of a nationality where every man, at least every class, was to be endued with such political rights as would enable it to protect itself. After the fourth day of July, 1776, a nation was no longer to be an association of master and slave, noble and serf, patron and dependent, aristocrat and people, but a nation was to be a great brotherhood of equal sovereigns—every class was to have in its own hand the power to protect itself. That is Democracy. No man is born so weak that he does not know better how to protect his own interests than any other man can protect them for him. That is the common-sense of Democracy. Now, we are undertaking to reconstruct the Union on its own fundamental idea. Woman excepted, up to this time the nation has recognized no exception to this rule except the negro ; no grand exception, at least. The war is completed when this great exception to the Declaration of Independence is taken out of national institutions ; the war is not finished until then. Out of that abnormal exception, the war grew ; when that exception is dead, the war is ended. The epoch meant, in God's providence, this—that the American nation was to acknowledge that the principles of the Declaration of Independence covered the negro, "all men are created equal." How do we stand in view of that principle ? But a short time ago, the South aghast at its own defeat, was ready to submit unconditionally to the great American idea. There have been, I think, three epochs during the war, when the North was equally ready. When Fremont struck the key-note of the hour in 1861, had the government followed it with suffrage for the negro, no voice in the loyal North but would have said, "Amen." When Lincoln issued his proclamation in 1863, if, recognizing the nature of the hour, he had pledged the nation to protect the political rights of the negro, as well as his personal freedom, every man would have said "Amen." When the nation was sore with defeat in the disastrous Summer of 1864, if the government then had taken the step, it would have been welcomed. When the nation stood over the fresh grave of the martyred President, every right conceded to every man in the Republic would have been welcomed as a fitting trophy on that new-made grave. Johnson came into office with the power to sweep out, with the "Amen" of 30,000,000 of people, North and South, every exception to the great Republican idea. How do we stand to-day ? The South rallies her broken lines, marshals her scattered forces, and her policy is to restore as closely as possible, as exactly as possible, the Union as it was ; yes, and, if possible, the Constitution as it was ; not one word, not one clause, altered, not one clause added, since 1860. I say the South to-day indulges the hope that in the contingencies and chances of politics, she may yet be able to carry her point. Who leads her ? The President of the United States. Who is her Commander-in-Chief ? He is encamped in the White House ; and he pledges the patronage of the United States to second the plot of the Southern politicians to roll back the revolution. I do not say that I can put my hand on the exact pledges which prove the President traitor to his own promises, but I do say, and every man who hears me knows—and I believe the President of the United States himself knows—that he betrays to-day the principles which carried him into office. ("Hear, hear," and applause), I say that, had he stood in 1864 planning what he now plans, then in 1865 and 1866, he would have been suing for pardon at the door of the White House, instead of being seated within it, endeavoring to build up a party out of rebels, and cowards whose timidity saved them from being rebels. (Applause.) Well, the President is a great force. It is idle to ignore the fact that the tenant of the White House, with the patronage of the government behind him, can almost guarantee success to any party to which he lends his aid. And how stands the National Legislature ? Congress has surrendered—surrendered the point in issue ; surrendered the exact question upon which depends the character of the future. Look at it. A barbarous and a civilized community can never be united under one government on equal terms ; the result must be conflict. In order that barbarism and civilization should be united under one government, one or the other must be able to control its rival for the time being. If you expect peace in the future, the North must have a right to carry its civilization into the barbarous South ; the civilized North must have the right, within the national girdle, to control the barbarism of its neighbor. What controls governments ? Two elements—land and the ballot-box. In the long run, take half a century together, land owns the government ; that class which holds the land will be able to mould the government. It always has been so, and there is little doubt that it always will be. What made a democratic revolution possible in France in 1789 ? Because its nobility had parted with its land ; because the French peasants held the land of France. What then made and still makes a democratic revolution impossible in England ? Because then and now the ruling class of England holds the land in its hand. Thirty thousand families own the land of England. You might as well rebel against the law of gravitation as make a democratic move on the soil of Great Britain. The South knows it ; the South pledges herself to herself to keep the land out of the hand of the negro. In this she plants the corner-stone of her government in the firmest possible spot. On the other hand is the ballot. The only possible thing that can countervail this normal ruler of all governments, land, is the ballot-box. In our reconstruction these two items are the primary ones. The ballot-box is indispensable. With it all others range themselves in proportion. Without it, there is hardly a possibility of salvation. Now, in these circumstances, Congress surrenders the two points of land for the negro and the ballot. She has neither confiscated the land nor has she regulated politcal privileges of the citizens of the rebellious States. I say, in those circumstances, Congress has surrendered. I know as well as you do what Congress means. I know as well as you do what hopes Congress indulges. We are accustomed to say that the President has a policy. I think it is a mistake. The President has not a policy ; he has a purpose. The President's purpose is to be re-elected in 1868. For that he will admit any policy. To secure that he would support even suffrage for the negro. He has no ideas ; he has a plot. He has no principles ; he has a selfish purpose to carry. Congress, broadly considered, is in exactly the same condition. I allow the honesty of its purpose, if you will ; but the purpose of Congress is to maintain the harmony and the predominance of the Republican party. Congress, in the true sense of the word, has no policy. It has a purpose, and its purpose is to tide over the Fall elections. I acknowledge, with you, that the majority of Congress honestly believe that by saving the unity of the Republican party they shall save the nation. I will acknowledge the honest conviction of the majority of Congress ; but what I want you to observe is, that Congress to-day does not even *propose to* settle the question involved in the resolution. It only proposes to lay before the people such a measure as will save the Republican party at the ballot-box. Well, friends, I distrust such a policy. I believe that all history shows that, as it is said in the Good Book, "he who seeks only to save his life shall lose it." So a party, when it is reduced to a policy concocted only to save its life, is certain to lose it. The South has never fought on this line. She has always fought for what she believed to be a principle, frankly avowing it, and four times out of five she has succeeded. The policy of the South, the statesmanship of the South, is courage, frankness, and an idea. The statesmanship of the North is timidity, compromise, and hypocrisy (laughter) ; and as you read the history of the caravan over the desert, in the sketches of the camels, so you read the history of that practical statesmanship in the skeletons of men who supposed themselves statesmen, and found out they were charlatans. (Applause.) The Republican party enters to-day on that same track. Look at its measure. Its measure is this : it undertakes to cut down the representation of the South in proportion to the extent to which the South disfranchises the negro. Our fathers tried that in 1781. They said, "Allow the South only three-fifths of her negroes, and political selfishness will, in order to clutch the other two-fifths, lift its negro from a slave into a man." We tried it ninety years, nearly, and the South, under the inspiration of this motive, never made one single effort to get rid of the slavery that robbed her of two-fifths of the strength of her black population. The Republican party to-day repeats the same experiment, and hopes it will be successful. What the leaders in Congress think is, that the amendment will be rejected. Of course it will be. The President has put his foot down against it. He has warned the Southern States not to indorse it. He has told them in so many words that they will have his support in refusing to ratify it. The precedent set in the last amendment counts all the States in making up the requisite three-fourths, and if that precedent is to be followed now, there is no possibility that the proposed amendment will be accepted. What, then, does Stevens, what does Boutwell, what does Wade, what does Sumner expect ? In that near Fall, when the elections are over, and the amendment defeated, what do they expect ? Why, they expect that the Republican party, victorious at the ballot-box, unfettered by the adoption of the amendment, will float back into Congress, able to pass an act that shall give the ballot to the negro, and initiate an amendment to the Constitution which shall secure it to him. They hope, they expect, that after the defeat of the amendment in the Fall elections, the party will return to Congress stronger than it stands to-day. They do not want that amendment accepted. The worst possible news that Thaddeus Stevens could hear would be that that amendment was adopted. The most unwelcome news you could carry to George Boutwell of Groton would be that that amendment had been ratified. They neither expect it or wish it. It is a party move. I do not disgrace it when I say it is a party trick, to tide over the elections, and save time—nothing else. To serve a purpose—to get rid of an emergency—to tide over the Summer—to get on the other side of the elections—that is all. Meanwhile, where are the rank and file of the people ? They take that amendment in their hands ; they read it as the honest and sound conviction of Congress ; they accept it as the high-tide level of what can be done. On the other side of the elections, you are to find public opinion demoralized to the level of that amendment. Again, the two parties, the Democratic and the Republican, are to enter into the canvass ; they will be standing on the platforms. Suppose to-day this were a Republican caucus. Some Republican orator is addressing you. He is advocating the amendment as the Congressional offer to the South. Some man in the audience rises and asks : "Is that the Congressional plan ? Do you mean to say that when that amendment is ratified, Congress will admit the South to their seats in the Senate and the House ? Is that your plan ?" He must say yes or no. Suppose he says : "No, this is not my plan. No, that is not the Congressional plan. Let the Southern States swallow every article of the amendment, and they are no nearer their seats than before." Suppose he says what Boutwell, and Stevens, and Sumner, and Wade say to-day, "Ratify all these amendments and you are not in." Suppose he should say, as Boutwell said in Faneuil Hall : "Accept negro suffrage before you enter that door," then the audience would say to him, "Then Congress enters on the elections without a plan. The Republican party present themselves to their constituents and they have no plan of reconstruction." Would he dare to say it ? No, he would not dare to avow it. The Republican press dare not stand on that platform before the people. Everybody, from Maine to the furthest village of the West, acknowledges that the Republican party is defeated unless it enters the canvass with a plan. What then ? When the canvass is opened, when the caucus is assembled in November, when the speaker mounts the rostrum, when the audience ask him, "Have you a plan ?" he is obliged to answer, "Yes, Congress has a plan ; there it is. Ratify that amendment, and South Carolina takes her seat in the Senate." He is obliged to say it. I venture to say that from Massachusetts Bay back to Iowa, every stump orator, and ninety-nine out of one hundred Republican presses, before the 15th day of October, will hold this as the Congressional plan of reconstruction. If they do, what then ? Why, then the negro is given back, defenceless, with an uncovered head, with an unprotected liberty, into the hands of the white race. Then, infamous beyond all words, mean beyond all description, Congress deliberately gives up its friends into the hands of its enemies, declares the war ended, and the loyalists of the rebel States under the iron heel of the rebels. I may say "the loyalists" without the use of the word "black." I had an interview with Col. Stokes of Tennessee, a month ago, when he was in Boston, and he said, "Send back the ballot to the hands of the white race only, and not only the negro, but I, and those like me, cannot live twenty-four hours in the State of Tennessee." How, then, do we stand to say ? The great agony of the nation is to plant the institutions of the rebel States on a foundation durable because just. The only durable foundation is that of land and the ballot. The President avowedly repudiates it, and Congress surrenders it. Remember, I do not charge George Boutwell, or Thaddeus Stevens, or Charles Sumner with surrendering it. I know their plan, as you do. They say, "We take this, but before we stop working we will have more." I know their meaning ; but the Republican party stands to-day where, by this policy, they sacrifice the very character and cohesion that make it possible they should ever fulfil their pledge to the negro. A French author says : "The barbarian sits down on the savannah, and eats up every green thing, and then moves. He sacrifices his subsistence to his appetite." Just so with the Republican party. It eats up, on the necessity of to-day, the very ground upon which it stands, and its success this Summer devours the possibility of its success next Winter. Let it go to the people and succeed in the Fall elections on this Congressional policy, and that very success has eaten up and devoured the possibility of fulfilling its pledge to the negro in the coming Congress of next Winter (applause), for it sacrificed the high-toned conviction of the masses. Its speakers are obliged to go through the canvass with an argument which will stop their mouths when they endeavor to fulfil their pledge another year. I know Mr. Sumner's sincerity ; I know George Boutwell's sincerity ; I know Henry Wilson's duplicity, as well. (Applause.) I know the man who, having studied the history of compromise for thirty years, has learned nothing, and made himself the tool of the enemy to defeat his own party in the matter of Colorado—making Massachusetts herself the tool by which the foulest insult was offered to the record of the war. You and I know that of Henry Wilson. Here, the announcement that no man could trust him as far as he could see him would be received with no great surprise. But off in Indiana, on the prairies of Illinois, when a speaker stands there to-day, and says to his audience, "Don't be discouraged ; Congress has not settled on that amendment ; it is only a tub to the whale ; when it is rejected, we are going back into Congress, and we will pass an impartial ballot-bill over the President ; the Radicals will be strong enough to do it," some man in the audience says, "Where is your Radical number one ?" "Why, Henry Wilson of Mass." And possibly, at that distance, one man in ten believes him. But we know that to call him "a broken reed" would be a compliment. Yet, in the great West, the Radicalism that is to save the Republican party after the demoralization consequent on the discussion of this amendment hangs on men like Henry Wilson. How do you know that the radicalism of the prairies on which you rely ; the radicalism of New York, on which you lean to secure this result, after the elections, may not be as weak, as superficial, as little trustworthy, as the radicalism of the Senator from Natick ! Oh, no, my friends, it is a close game we are playing. It is a keen effort to hit between wind and water. It is an attempt to beat the Devil with his own weapons. I hope the Republican party will succeed. I know no other channel, this Summer, in which to work. I cannot tell you to desert the Republican party ; I know nowhere else for you to go. But my advice is this : Open your eyes wide. Understand that your leaders neither wish nor expect the ratification of this proposal. Understand beforehand that they only put it as a stalking-horse to cover their real design ; that the only men in the party whose opinions are worth mentioning rely upon going into Congress unfettered by it, with the hope of wielding such a strength as will checkmate the President with his own weapons, and keep the rebel States still in the hands of the army. When you go up and down, when you attend your caucuses, when you speak at town meetings, remember that the real Republican battle-cry is, "No rebel States readmitted without the ballot, land and education for every loyal man in it !" (Loud applause.) "No rebel State admitted *at all* for the present !" (Renewed applause.) It is idle to disguise the matter ; it is very idle to blink the issue ; it is worse than childish to shut your eyes to the large jobs we have to do. To reconstruct the nation, we are *obliged* to bring those ten States again within the girdle of Federal law. At the present day four white men out of five in those rebel States cherish yet in their bosoms a design to renew the struggle. Gov. Hamilton of Texas is to-day in Washington telling President Johnson that he has not a man in Texas who is not an avowed rebel at this very hour. He is there to tell the President that out of the white men of his own State, there is not one in five who is, in any degree, a friend of this government, or takes even the trouble to pretend to be a friend of the government. He is there to tell the President that if his policy is adopted, neither he (Hamilton) nor his Chief-Justice, nor his Attorney, can stay one night in the State of Texas. From Florida comes up the same record. It is not possible to let the helm of these States go back into the hands of the white man. Open the books of the merchants. Take the cold, dispassionate discussions of the Statistical Society of New York. The most learned man on cotton addressed them last month, and he said to the statistical merchants of the Empire State, "Gentlemen, it is not safe for a Northern dollar to go south of Mason and Dixon's line." How do you hope to reconstruct States when the capital of the North, *by its own avowal*, dares not cross the line ? What does the South want ? Money. Burn down this town, destroy every house, blot out every road, tear up every railroad, pull down every school-house, burn every church ; suppose to-morrow you had nothing but the land and your hands to begin with—what should you want ? Capital. You would send agents to Boston and New York to borrow money. You would say, "We can rebuild the town of Framingham if you will trust us." Sherman has burned the South over fifty miles broad, and left no living thing behind him. The other parts of it are as desolate. What it needs to-day is capital. The North cobwebbed the West with railroads and dotted it with cities. Why ? Because the West said, "Come, brothers, and mould for us a policy, and take your fitting reward." Northern men, Northern capital, covered the West. The South stands in the same condition, and the Northern capitalist says, from the flag-stones of Wall street, "No Northern dollar can venture to cross the line." What then ? Why, you have to hold it under the military right hand until Northern men and Northern dollars have rebuilt it. You have got to hold the rebel element by force until it has worn out its hatred, and the great elements that mould nations have made it over. Why, we have had experience in this matter. It is very true that ignorant men, learned men, good men, selfish men, all kinds of men, have an influence in moulding the character of a government ; but you can hardly count within any definite short space what their influence will be, because the human heart is a bundle of prejudices and passions. But there are certain things, certain great elements, and you can calculate their influence as exactly as an astronomer calculates the motions of a star. Land, education, capital, the ballot,—these are things as durable as the North Star ; their influence just as calculable as that of the moon. In 1789, when our fathers attempted to weld together civilization and barbarism, in the kindness of their hearts, they trusted men. They trusted the passions, the selfishness, the good nature, the ambition, the State pride of men ; what is the result ? After sixty years of compromise came a war that shook the globe, and what has that war taught us ? Never to trust men any longer ! That is the lesson of the war. Trust things ! Trust capital, trust the ballot, trust the land, trust enlightenment—never trust man. Tell me what Alexander Stephens thinks, tell me what Roger Pryor believes, tell me what Gov. Aiken has been whipped into—I do not care a rush for it—I want the *land* of South Carolina on my side. (Applause.) I want the *ballot-box* of South Carolina on my side. I want the *capital* of South Carolina on my side ; I want the same elements that made the West pledged to make the South in that image. Send up to Congress, therefore, this message : "You have betrayed us. You are demoralizing the popular heart by your Republican policy. Give us no policy that trusts men. Trust God, and the things which God created !" (Applause.) You cannot go through this coming election in any other channel but the Republican party, weak as it is ; but go through it with your voices engaged by party discipline, proclaiming all the while to God and people that unless they secure the great elements of life on our side they are only planting the seeds of another revolution. I believe in half a dozen or a dozen of the leading men in the Senate and House of Representatives ; I believe in their honesty of purpose ; but what I doubt is their courageous wisdom. Edmund Burke said once, "There is a courageous wisdom, and the opposite of it is reptile prudence, born not of caution but of fear." Now, the "reptile prudence" of Congress, represented to-day by the practical statesmanship (Heaven save the mark !) of the Natick Senator, is "born, not of caution, but of fear." He dreads the South. He fears the strength of the conquered rebels of South Carolina. He shows the white flag, even before it is demanded. (Hear, hear.) If, when Thaddeus Stevens made that touching speech just before the passage of the amendment, after telling of his dream out of his disappointment, instead of closing it with the declaration that he was to vote "aye" on the amendment, he had said, "Therefore, gentlemen, alone, if necessary, but pledged to do what in me lies to save this nation, or at least to indicate to it where lies its safety, I say No to that amendment ;" if he had done that, if a dozen like him (as is possible) had rallied round the veteran statesman, even then the Republican party might have saved this nation. The best Senator in the Senate told me, within ten days, "Had I had but six men on my side, I could have carried impartial suffrage through the Senate of the United States." Six men ! Why, twenty men sat in those seats—*twenty men*, every one of whom, if you had asked him, "Sir, do you believe in the indispensable necessity of impartial suffrage ?" would have said, "Yes, sir." "Why don't you advocate it ?" "For fear of my party." Had they stood up like men, these twenty, and voted for impartial suffrage, a ready and willing country would have said "amen" to the Senate. (Applause.) Impartial suffrage ! The whole South is afraid to contest it ; most men of the South are willing to admit it ; a large number would welcome it ; it needed but twenty men like Thaddeus Stevens or Wm. D. Kelley to have carried the House of Representatives. Now, what says the party to us ? "Gentlemen, we have done our utmost ; gentlemen, we are making the best of the hour." Suppose I was on board a Cunard steamer on the rocks of Cohasset, and the vessel about going to pieces, and the pilot stood idly at the helm, and I said to him, "Sir, why is not our course pointed out to sea ?" "I can't do it ?" "Have you ever put your hand on the helm ; have you ever tried ?" "No, sir ; I am doing the best I can." "Have you ever made one single effort ?" "No." That is very indistinct against the Republican party. You and I who go up and down the country know that while the public opinion of the loyal States does not imperatively demand, it yet submissively consents to universal suffrage, and that if the leading men of this nation, in the Summer of 1865, regardless of their own ambition, forgetful of party, had undertaken to speak right out their own conscientious convictions, the nation would have been a unit. My charge against even the virtue of Thaddeus Stevens, and Charles Sumner, and William D. Kelley, is not that they did not do their duty, but it is that they have not refused—yes, *refused*, to the end, to sully their record by putting on it one single vote that left it to be imagined by a single man, for an instant, that it was possible to save the great national issue while paltering the whole Summer's length in order to save a party organization. (Applause.) I know what practical statesmanship means in ordinary times. I know how much party organization is worth in ordinary times ; but these are not ordinary times—it is a revolution. The waters are out, and flood the globe ; the political depths are broken up ; the heavens themselves are obscured ; there is no star visible but the North Star of Justice. There is but one object in the great loyal masses ; it is to save the Union, by keeping the nationality unbroken. Inside of that, I will aver to my dying day, that but for the timidity of such men as Abraham Lincoln, no matter how good their hearts, these Democratic masses were ready, in the providence of God, to be led up to the absolute level of impartial and entire justice to every man under the national flag. (Applause.) That legend could have been stamped on the soft national heart half a dozen times during the war. Oh, if the future historian shall adduce this time as the test of democratic institutions, let him say that democracies are able to produce people ; where they fail is in producing leaders—men courageous enough to risk their future and all party arrangements by trusting to the people. The Democratic leader trusts his rank and file without flinching. He knows what his party is made up of, and he believes in it. It is made up of selfishness and corruption (laughter and applause) ; it is made up of personal ambition and spite ; it is made up of the lower tier of the worst forces of man's nature, and he believes in them. The republican Leader never has believed in his rank and file. His rank and file are patriotism, loyalty, justice, faith in God, and a belief in the nation's duty at this hour. No Republican leader has been willing to trust them unreservedly. Born of the timid counsels of the Whig party, he never has believed in the virtue of the people. On the chess-board of such men as your Natick Senator, the pawns and the kings are alike the basest elements of the human heart. He watches their average exhibition in the grog-shops of Washington, and brings out that average, and calls it *public opinion ;* and to that, with a base timidity for which no popular demonstration has afforded him even an excuse, he sacrifices the possibility of the nation's most critical hour. What we want, as a people, are leaders with aith in their own virtue. Support the Republican party at the polls, assuming that the party is on the side of absolute justice. I know not where else to tell you to go. But teach the Republican party, at the same time, that you know that this amendment ought to be defeated ; that the foulest blot on the nation's Constitution would be the enrollment of such an infamous desertion of its pledges. Tell them, at the same time, that you know God has linked justice to this victim race with the possibility of national security. I know you think I am talking apprehensively to-day ; but as that same Edmund Burke said of his party in a similar crisis, "Undue apprehension is a far lesser evil than that confidence which in its undue reliance loses a good cause." I know I am apprehensive. Not of the absolute future, for I believe in God and justice ; but my apprehension covers the next dozen or sixteen years. It covers that epoch when the still powerful white race of the South, rich, educated, influential, is to regain State machinery, and wield it against the possibility of national peace. My apprehension is in State sovereignty, which is left strong enough to commit dangerous treason. I would cut down State sovereignty by Congressional act or Constitutional amendment, so much as to allow the Federal government to arrange the political rights and to protect the civil privileges of its citizens within the several States. My apprehension covers these dozen coming years, when Northern brains and Northern capital are to be barred out with a worse than Chinese exclusion, from Southern cities and Southern plantations, and the race to which we are bound by such ties of gratitude is to be left to be ground up under the terrible tread of their former masters. I am apprehensive when I see the *Atlantic Monthly* telling the negro that if he is oppressed he has an ample remedy—he can emigrate ! Emigrate ! As if four millions of paupers could remove themselves two thousand miles, or one thousand, beyond oppression ! Oh, the mockery of argument that meets every earnest appeal is the worst exhibition of the national heart ! It is the only thing that makes me apprehensive when I look at the North itself. Send back to your leaders, I repeat, this message : "Admit no rebel State for the present ! Hold them under the sword until their highways are safe for Northern travellers, and their marts of business safe for Northern capitalists ! Admit no rebel State even then, until land, education, and the ballot, under the sanction of Federal authority, are the secure inheritance of every man born on its soil !" (Loud applause.)

His first thought was, the will of the people is the supreme law of the land. His second, that the ballot is the only means by which that will can be expressed. The President and Congress are the mere instruments of the nation ; but it is the people that make the laws ; every voter helps make them, and every voter is responsible for them. The decision of the people is final. It is the supreme law of the nation. And now the question is—Do the people of New England, of the Northern States, desire the negro to have the ballot ? Mr. Wright believed they did desire it. We must blot the word white from all Northern constitutions, and keep it out from all Southern ones.

Mr. Wright spoke of the influence of Calhoun in opposing the doctrine of the equality of human beings, and causing slavery to be accepted as the natural and appropriate condition of a large class of men and women. He proceeded to show the folly of excluding from the ballot a numerous class of our loyal citizens, while we allow vicious and ignorant foreigners to vote.

Mr. SARGENT here announced the Finance Committee.

Mr. REMOND made a few remarks on the financial question, urging a liberal contribution to the Anti-Slavery cause.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER, of Worcester, was then introduced, and read a resolution to which he wished to ask the attention of the audience, as follows :

Resolved, That the day and deeds we celebrate bid us support no political party which does not recognize the equality of all men before the law, and we hereby publicly announce our purpose to identify ourselves with our disfranchised fellow-citizens, and to resist their oppression by every means which God and nature have put in our power. "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

Mr. Foster went on to say—Those who honor the memory of the Revolutionary fathers should imitate their example, doing such work as liberty, at the present day, requires at their hands. Our present government is more oppressive than the British government has been for two hundred years ; for our present government is responsible for all the outrages now heaped upon the black race at the South.

Mr. Foster proceeded to criticise Mr. Phillips's speech, considering it to have been too favorable to the Republican party.

Mr. Foster said that, for his part, he wished the Republican party to go to pieces. That, like the Church, is doing far more harm than good, and in defence of the right, we should take our stand outside of both. To succeed, we must have a purpose, and have an organization, and act together with energy and persistency. Let the negroes, who have fought for *us*, now contend as earnestly for their own rights ; and let us give no more support to a party that betrays us and violates our principles. Until this government practises justice, it is no government for me. Abolitionists must go to work in earnest. Until they do their appropriate work, it will remain undone.

Mr. PHILLIPS replied to Mr. Foster's call for explanation. He thought there was little chance of such combined and systematic action of all the friends of freedom as Mr. Foster desires. But the rank and file of the Republican party might still be prompted to rise up against the treachery of their leaders. Let us support any one in that organization who does maintain, and promises to support, the true ideas of freedom. We are now in a transition state. We need not support the Republican nominees, but we may usefully go into their caucusses, and urge the choice of more thorough men, for the advocacy of higher principles.

Mr. Phillips went on to express his belief in the essentially right positions held by the people. A larger proportion of them now go for negro suffrage than went for independence in the days of the Revolution. They are misled by corrupt leaders, intent on the success of party organization. God's way of ruling the world is by putting a conviction in the hearts of individuals, and moving them frankly to act upon it. Practical statesmanship is for every man to utter his honest conviction. When this is done, it will be plain what course to take. Practical statesmanship urges the people to the *most* they can be made to do, not reconciles itself to the least and the poorest.

AARON M. POWELL, Editor of THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, of New York, did not agree with Mr. Phillips that it was the best policy for Anti-Slavery politicians to support the Republican party, even in the qualified mode which he so defined. If we are to judge the Republican party by the acts of its leading representative men, it has recently changed front on the great issue of the day, Impartial Suffrage. The danger is that in the coming campaign, instead of following Mr. Phillip's advice, you will follow in the wake of the Senator from Natick ; that instead of leading the party to higher ground, it will drag you lower, and that you will hand over the black race, as Wilson did in his Colorado vote, to the keeping of their old rebel masters. He believed that it was in the power of each humble man and woman to shed more sunlight on the people, and to give greater life to our principles by non-conformity rather than by acting with it while it showed a willingness to sacrifice truth to expediency. Let the leaders of the Republican party understand that you will not sustain them unless they support, in public and in private, those principles which alone can make Republican government possible on this continent.

HENRY C. WRIGHT said that the Republicans whom he met went strongly for impartial suffrage, and he thought that men who act politically might well act with them.

G. W. STACY, of Milford, feared that the people, the mass of the people, are not so advanced in Anti-Slavery principle as Mr. Phillips and others assume them to be. He wished that women might be called upon to do their part in the advocacy of freedom. This is still a great and arduous work, and all should take active part in it whose hearts sympathize with its call.

Mr. S. H. MORSE, Editor of the *Radical*, was next called to the stand. He was glad to see a disposition to return to the old starting point, to stand upon the original platform, and call out for active and vigorous *working* in the cause of freedom. Our business as Abolitionists is to proclaim God's truth in regard to freedom, and let the sects and parties that dislike this course take care of themselves. We stand better outside than inside of any timid and compromising body. The advocacy of universal suffrage is our only right course. Let this motto be kept visible to all.

The PRESIDENT then read again Mr. Foster's resolution, and put it to vote. It was unanimously passed.

The meeting then adjourned, the time being near at which the cars were expected. The audience was as large as on any former occasion, and the speakers were heard with attentive interest, showing that the need of Anti-Slavery teaching is still recognized among the people. Among the friends present from more distant places were

AFTERNOON SESSION.—The PRESIDENT called the assembly to order soon after the time appointed, and a second Anti-Slavery hymn was sung, from a sheet which had been distributed to the audience.

HENRY C. WRIGHT was the first speaker, and he spoke in favor of "impartial suffrage," pointing out the difference between that and *universal* suffrage. He said every speech should contain food for thought. He had two thoughts which he wished on this occasion to present to the audience.

After Mr. Phillips had concluded the forenoon session adjourned.

Sallie Holley, Mattie Griffith and Anna E. Dickinson. The latter was urgently solicited to speak, but declined. There was, however, no lack of speakers, and the meeting was felt to have been a pleasant and useful one. C. K. W.

LETTER OF HON. B. GRATZ BROWN, OF MISSOURI.

WASHINGTON, June 27, 1866.

To the People of Missouri:

THE approach of a general election involving the choice of a United States Senator for the term beginning March 4, 1867, renders it proper that I should say to you thus early and publicly that it is not my desire to be again regarded as a candidate for that position.

My health has been very much impaired by public service within the last three years; so much so as to forbid me at the present time from engaging in any personal canvass of the State. Furthermore, I find my tastes to be utterly uncongenial with the holding of office and its incidents, which alone would go far to unfit me for its continuous exercise. Thus realizing that no considerations of duty enjoin a continuance here, while urgent reasons call for desistence, it is my wish to turn to other vocations, and seek modes of usefulness which, if humbler in sphere, will be less exacting.

My political life in your midst has been dedicated to severe labors in vindication of essential principles of freedom, and especially to obliterating the foul stigma of domestic slavery from our State and nation. Believing that such obligation was a condition-precedent to any development of a higher type of social or industrial progress, my most earnest thought has been to see its accomplishment. That aspiration has been mainly gratified. To-day slavery stands condemned in your Constitution, its laws erased from your statute-book; and it is not too much to say that the leading part taken by Missouri in this great work of emancipation has contributed as much as any other cause to its triumph throughout the Union. The reward, therefore, which attaches to unfaltering faith and work in a cause upon which depended so largely the higher destinies of our people, may be claimed by me without arrogance; and with that consciousness I am content.

Slavery has been abolished in our State and nation. And yet I do not conceal it from myself that with the abolition of slavery in its personal tenures, its property in human beings, its harshness of enforced servitude, its atrocious chattelism, all is not achieved that is implied. Slavery still lurks in every disability and disfranchisement not founded on crime as conspicuously as in hereditary customs of bondage; for slavery is but the tyrannical exercise of power by one class or caste or race over another, and so long as the power exists its exercise will be grasped at and manipulated.

Your own Constitution in this respect is still detaced by discriminations unworthy of a free people. It seeks repose for your State upon enacted inequalities of race, fortified by large disfranchisements of what are termed dangerous classes. Let me be equally frank with you now as heretofore, and say that you will never get repose, either social or political, in any such manner. The excited and embittered civil conflicts already following so close upon your almost unanimous verdict in favor of the constitutional principle of equal freedom sufficiently demonstrates that fact, even if it were not self-evident before. You must look forward to some other and more radical solution of the problem of reconstruction, whether in State or nation.

In the transition out of slavery into freedom, and out of rebellion into submission, disfranchisements resting on the crime of treason have been found necessary to the State. They have had thrown around them the formalities of the law and scrutinies of registration. All this is temporary, and only defensible as being temporary. But it should be borne ever in mind that as rebellion originated in a class dominion at the South, upheld in its control by disfranchising and enslaving an inferior race, thus making labor itself servile and defenseless, so the submission that has followed will find its only guarantee of performance and peace in abolishing those conditions which made it possible for a class to dominate, for a race to be held subject, and for labor to be stripped of its sure defense—the chief of which conditions was disfranchisement of a servile population. It was that which made rebellion possible in the first instance, and it is that which makes the advent of rebels to control so dangerous now. You cannot offset disabilities on the score of color by disabilities on the score of crime. There is no justice in such a policy, and the result will disappoint your expectation. The disfranchisement of any laboring class will be used to effect a political mastery over the loyal whites and a statutory mastery over the defenseless blacks. The cure for all this is patent. It is to make suffrage universal or impartial; for that alone will make rebellion an oblivion, amnesty a safety, and freedom for all a realization and not a mockery.

You do not propose to make universal suffrage an issue in the contest pending at this time in Missouri; but rather to rest on repressive measures adopted while war was flagrant, enforced by test oaths at home and to be supplemented by reapportioned representation here. Political leaders have advised you to do so. Unfortunately, to this course you have been driven, too, in great part by the defection of a President faithless to equal freedom, and by the irresolution and timidity of a Congress that feared to do right, although constant in declaring what was right. The result will be not only to remit all guardianship of suffrage rights to the States, as proposed in the constitutional amendment just passed, whether that be confirmed or not, but furthermore to make of the question of universal suffrage a party issue, that will only find its way to complete affirmance and adoption through long years of discord, against revived sectionalisms, and resisted by whatever is putrid in politics.

All this is to be deplored, because it will retard the nation's development by just so much, and because it was a failure to seize upon the opportunity of bridging in a day the advance of a quarter of a century.

Nevertheless, universal suffrage will triumph in the end, because it embodies the self-defense of individuals and classes in democratic societies. It does not rest for vindication on any assumption that the ignorant will vote as lucidly as the educated, that a community mostly fools will vote wisely, or that a population inflamed with partisanship will vote without passion or prejudice. The reverse of all this may happen, and does happen every day, yet democratic government is found to fulfil just ends, and the real Tribunes of the people are not the elect of the ballot-box, but sit afar off, the wisest in the land, molding through earnest conviction the national thought. The importance of a ballot is chiefly to the individual—that he can vote, rather than how he votes. The way of voting will be controlled in the end by superior influences of intellect or virtue; the capacity of voting is the protection against class legislation, the oppressions of race, the intolerance of party, and all those antagonisms which threaten to wreck the State and ingulf liberty.

It is in this sense that exclusion from the franchise becomes a disguised slave code, that its necessity to any political equilibrium cannot be set aside, that it rises to the level of a human right an indispensable justice an integral part of freedom in a free land. Believing thus, I cannot but hope that the advocates of universal suffrage in Missouri will permit no political combination to swerve them from the assertion of their faith through every channel and on all occasions until its triumph is made sure. For my own part, I hold myself, in the future as in the past, pledged to give it zealous support through whatever modes of influencing public opinion I may be able to command.

In deprecating thus freely what is to be regretted so much in connection with realizing for Missouri the freedom achieved by the war, I trust no one will understand me as casting any doubt upon the sincerity of the loyal people of our State, however environed by party hindrances or embarrassed by weak issues. Neither do I call in question their right to be sustained in the present conflict against allied forces of a defeated reaction and a vanquished rebellion. Whatever may be the obtrusion of untenable positions or the omission to affirm vital principles on the one side, and whatever may be the nomenclature or disguise under which the other side arrogates to itself the right to come into possession of the government, it is plain as plain can be that the former embodies the loyalty of the State, devoted in its heart to an equal freedom, while the latter reflects the most disloyal sympathies, rendered even more virulent because slavery has been uprooted. No man who values the future of Missouri can hesitate for an instant between such antagonistic array. He will stand true to the party of loyalty all the time; but in so doing he will see to it that loyalty shall not belie itself or accept representation of its passions only and not its principles. This done, there is every reason to believe that the pending general election will advance the cause of genuine freedom in Missouri more than any ever heretofore held.

At some future time I shall have occasion to report to you my senatorial action in connection with the more material interests of our State—its railways, its rivers, its public lands, its dues from the National government, the claims and bounties of its soldiers, and the furtherance of postal, commercial, and telegraphic facilities. For the present, in making a communication I did not feel it right to delay, I have only to assure you how much I appreciate the honor you have conferred upon me, and to say that I shall always retain a grateful remembrance of your kindness and confidence.

I remain, as ever, yours, truly

B. GRATZ BROWN.

REPORT OF THE JAMAICA COMMISSION.

WE have received the report of the Jamaica Commission (without the evidence), dated Spanish Town, April 9, and a dispatch of Mr. Cardwell thereupon to Sir Henry Storks, dated June 18. The report occupies forty-one pages, and is signed by the three Commissioners. It is a summary of the principal evidence, as well as a statement of the opinions of its authors.

The Commissioners describe the disturbance at St. Thomas-in-the-East as having been planned with a view to resistance to the lawful authority; and state that its originators did not generally belong to the working class, but were free settlers, who wanted to get land without paying rent, and that the magistrates had not the confidence of the laboring people, nor such as they were could be expected to have it.

A large portion of the report is occupied with an inquiry into the suppression of the outbreak. The Commissioners approve the original proclamation of martial law, and applaud the military arrangements for checking the riots as prompt and judicious, but the punishments inflicted under martial law are condemned as excessive. The total number of deaths caused by those engaged in the suppression was four hundred and thirty-nine, and the number of dwellings burned, one thousand. The number of persons flogged cannot be stated with accuracy. Sixty were flogged by order of courts-martial; but the numbers flogged without a trial were much greater. Seventy-three were thus flogged at Port Antonio, fifty at Monklands, above a hundred at Morant Bay, and a still larger number at Bath. "The whole number subjected to this degrading punishment during the continuance of martial law could not have been less than six hundred." The twining of wire into the cats is confirmed, and the flogging of women by the authority of courts-martial and Captain Hole, an infliction which is to be "reprobated." The Commissioners decline to express an opinion as to the charge of shooting three men by a detachment under Ensign Cullen, or as to the charge of the shooting of Gray by Staff Assistant-Surgeon Morris, as the evidence was so conflicting; but they represent that, for the sake of the character of the service, further inquiry should be made. The case of Provost-Marshal Ramsay, against whom so many charges of fiendish cruelty have been brought, is mentioned; but the Commissioners decline to make any remark on his conduct, because he has yet to stand his trial on a charge of wilful murder. Referring to the extraordinary number of executions by order of courts-martial, the Commissioners say that in the great majority of instances the evidence justified the finding of the court; but in others the conviction was not justified by any evidence appearing in the proceedings. Five persons were convicted on the unconfirmed testimony of a man who was himself sentenced to death as a spy. Two men were admitted to give evidence against one another of alleged confessions mutually exchanged, and in several cases men were sentenced to death and executed upon mere affidavits.

Considerable space is given to the case of Mr. Gordon, and his relations with Paul Bogle and the other negroes at Stoney Gut are minutely investigated. The opinion of the Commission is summed up in the following passage:

"Although, therefore, it appears exceedingly probable that Mr. Gordon, by his words and writings, produced a material effect on the minds of Bogle and his followers, and did much to produce that state of excitement and discontent in different parts of the island which rendered the spread of the insurrection exceedingly probable, yet we cannot see, in the evidence which has been adduced, any sufficient proof either of his complicity in the outbreak at Morant Bay or of his having been a party to a general conspiracy against the government. On the assumption that, if there was in fact a wide-spread conspiracy, Mr. G. W. Gordon must have been a party to it, the conclusion at which we have arrived in his case is decisive as to the non-existence of such a conspiracy."

The Commissioners discredit the story that the blacks were going to rise at a future time, and attach no importance to the reports of drillings and threatening letters.

The Commissioners, placing themselves in the position of the government of Jamaica in the month of October, forbear to blame it for the protraction of the rule of martial law; but they observe that from and after the 30th of that month, when the Governor had formerly declared that the rebellion was subdued, that the leaders of it had been punished, and that the people of the district were desirous to return to their allegiance, "there could be no necessity for that promptitude in the execution of the law which almost precludes a calm inquiry into each man's guilt or innocence." The Commissioners consider that from that date no more court-martial should have been held, but that prisoners in custody should have been handed over to the ordinary tribunals. The Commissioners terminate their report as follows:

"Upon the subjects proposed for our inquiry we have come to the following conclusions: 1. That the disturbances in St. Thomas-in-the-East had their immediate origin in a planned resistance to lawful authority. 2. That the causes leading to the determination to offer that resistance were manifold:—(1.) That a principal object of the disturbers of order was the obtaining of land free from the payment of rent. (2) That an additional incentive to the violation of the law arose from the want of confidence generally felt by the laboring class in the tribunals before which most of the disputes affecting their interests were carried for adjudication. (3.) That some, moreover, were animated by feelings of hostility towards political and personal opponents, while not a few contemplated the attainment of their ends by the death or expulsion of the white inhabitants of the island. 3. That though the original design for the overthrow of constituted authority was confined to a small portion of the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, yet that the disorder in fact spread with singular rapidity over an extensive tract of country, and that such was the state of excitement prevailing in other parts of the island that had more than a momentary success been obtained by the insurgents their ultimate overthrow would have been attended with a still more fearful loss of life and property. 4. That praise is due to Gov. Eyre for the skill, promptitude, and vigor which he manifested during the early stages of the insurrection; to the exercise of which qualities its speedy termination is in a great degree to be attributed. 5. That the military and naval operations appear to us to have been prompt and judicious. 6. That by the continuance of martial law in its full force to the extreme limit of its statutory operation the people were deprived for a longer than necessary period of the great constitutional privileges by which the security of life and property is provided for. Lastly. That the punishments inflicted were excessive.—(1.) That the punishment of death was unnecessarily frequent. (2.) That the floggings were reckless, and at Bath positively barbarous. (3.) That the burning of 1,000 houses was wanton and cruel. All which we humbly submit to your Majesty's gracious consideration.

(Signed) "H. K. STORKS, Lieut.-General.
RUSSELL GURNEY.
J. B. MAULE.

"Charles S. Roundell, Secretary, King's House, Spanish Town, April 9, 1866."

Mr. Cardwell, in his dispatch, expresses the general concurrence of the government with the conclusions at which the Commissioners have arrived. He reviews the circumstances under which Gov. Eyre maintained the duration of martial law to its utmost statutory limits, but with the strongest disposition to make every possible allowance for his difficulties he expresses his full agreement with the Commissioners, that by the Governor's act the people were deprived for a longer period than was necessary of the constitutional securities for their lives and property; that convictions were procured on insufficient evidence; that the punishment of death was unnecessarily frequent; that the floggings were reckless and barbarous, and the burning of houses wanton and cruel. "Her Majesty's government have arrived at these conclusions with the greatest concern; they are desirous of recognizing every consideration which can extenuate the condemnation it necessarily involves. But their principal anxiety must be to prevent the recurrence in any future case of proceedings like those which they have disclosed. It appears to them to be evident that even in the first excitement of the disturbances, and still more at some later period, if martial law was to be allowed to continue, instructions ought to have been issued to the officer to whom the actual conduct of the operations was entrusted, which would have rendered such an abuse of power impossible." Her Majesty's government do not impute to Mr. Eyre any personal cognisance of the severe measures adopted, but inasmuch as it was his bounden duty to restrain them within the narrowest limits, and to inform himself of what was being done, they "cannot hold him irresponsible either for the continuance or the excessive severity of those measures."

Of Mr. Gordon's case Mr. Cardwell says that her Majesty's government concurs in the opinion that "the evidence on which he was convicted was wholly insufficient to establish the charge on which he took his trial." The proper course would have been to arrest him on considerations of public safety, and reserve him for trial before a regular tribunal. "But his trial by court-martial, and his execution by virtue of the sentence of that court, are events which her Majesty's government cannot but deplore and condemn."

Mr. Cardwell states that copies of the Commissioners' report, with the evidence, have been communicated to the War Office, and the Admiralty, who are the proper judges of the conduct of the officers engaged in the recent transactions. Sir Henry Storks is to cause careful investigations to be made into the cases of civilians. "Great offences ought to be punished," and the Queen's government will rely on the Governor for that purpose, and await his report of what he has done.

The dispatch concludes with the following reference to the position of Mr. Eyre:

"It will be evident from what I have already said that her Majesty's government, while giving to Mr. Eyre full credit for those portions of his conduct to which credit is justly due, are compelled, by the result of your inquiry, to disapprove other portions of that conduct. They do not feel, therefore, that they should discharge their duty by advising the crown to replace Mr. Eyre in his former government; and they cannot doubt that, by placing the new form of government in new hands they are taking the course best calculated to allay animosities, to conciliate general confidence, and to establish on firm and solid grounds the future welfare of Jamaica."—*London Inquirer.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 14, 1866.

THE SITUATION.

THERE are wars abroad and large financial and commercial speculations at home. These movements have no interest in these columns except as they affect the future of the negro. If this European war launches us, as did that prior to 1812, into a flood of money-making, then, possibly, the keen edge of political enthusiasm may be dulled and the masses soothed or betrayed into allowing a more or less entire surrender of the fruits of the war. Financial and commercial adventure at the South, in old times, though based on shams, still had a run of apparent success for five or six years. Then came the usual bankruptcy. If even that transient success were within reach now, our cause would be for the present hopeless. It seems, by the confession of the coolest mercantile observers, as if even this is impossible. If so, then the bitter and costly school of experience is to teach us *now*, in this very trial, without waiting for another experiment, that justice is the only expediency. Meanwhile let us look at the political arena. The South plans to bring back the Union *as it was* and to remodel the Constitution into the shape which the late Confederate government gave to theirs. She will not succeed. Revolutions never go so far back. But she plans it as the Cavaliers after 1688 planned and plotted for the restoration of the Stuarts. They, too, never succeeded. But how idle would have been any English statesmanship during that period, down to the accession of George III., which did not take into account that political force.

In this effort President Johnson is the leader. What he *intends* is of little consequence. He is absorbed in this Southern maelstrom, whose compass he may possibly not know and whose force certainly it would be absurd to fancy he can control. His *intentions*, therefore, are of no account. To imagine them one should multiply the most rotten corruption of the old Democratic party into the most intense Tennessee duplicity, and the result would be the nearest guess one could make as to the intentions of Andrew Johnson. When obtained, the guess would be worthless. Our only concern is to thoroughly understand the plot of which he is the tool. We shall not be far astray if we base our calculations on the idea that he is the cat's paw to rake the Southern chestnuts of ultimate disunion or slave empire out of the reach of the fire of Northern determination. Congress has struck its flag. Some of its leaders still hope to fight. So did, so do, many of the Southern Hotspurs still hope and plan to fight for Southern independence. They were willing Lee should surrender at Appomattox, in the stress of that hour, and doubtless *thought that was then the best move to secure their final success.* But that private hope and faith does not alter the fact that *Lee did surrender.* So Congress, in staking its party hopes on this amendment, which, to propitiate opponents, gives up the negro, has surrendered, and the President is victorious—so thoroughly victorious that, sterner than Grant at Appomattox, he feels strong enough to refuse the terms Congress offers him and to insist on even a more humiliating submission.

Neither he, nor the Democratic party on which he leans, have any real popular strength. Weaker still is that sham of pretended Republicanism which under Mr. Senator Doolittle and his comrades presumes to speak for the conservative element of the Republican party. Any success that either gains will be due to the cowardice of the Radicals, not to the strength of their opponents. No, as we have said a score of times, the people though not imperiously demanding absolute justice as the basis of reconstruction, are abundantly willing to submit to support it. The proportion of the nation which demands to-day negro suffrage is far larger than that which did demand Independence in 1776. What ought to be to-day the ruling element of the nation's demand? Negro suffrage. Why is it not at once secured? Because timid Congressmen, frightened leaders, like Wilson of Massachusetts, secure of the support of well-wishers to their party, are determined to save it by granting all that the worst men in it demand. Having consulted the *fear* which turns pale at the possibility of losing office, the *ignorance* which never studies the slave question, and the *corruption* which drifted into the Republican party the moment it clutched the spoils, such men baptize their fears and selfishness of this rabble, *public opinion*, and propose to settle this great national question on a level satisfactory to such vultures and owls! It is always easy to conquer a foe, if you will grant him all he asks.

How shall this God given opportunity be saved from the feeble knees and itching palms of such pretenders? *Our* special duty is plain. We, standing outside of politics, are to stir every honest impulse, to waken every honorable feeling, still to agitate and lift up public purpose and opinion. By meetings, journals, appeals, public and private, we are to do the work we have done for thirty years; fearlessly utter the whole truth about men and things, point out the true remedy and consent to—support—nothing short of it; no, not for an hour. We are not simply to cry, "May discord reign forever;" but we are to prove to every one who will listen that far better is it, in every point of view, that discord should reign forever than that at a moment like this any right of the humblest citizen should be sacrificed in order that unconverted rebels should sit down with half-hearted friends to govern this Republic. Further still we are to warn the nation that whether this be true or not and whether men like it or not, God has so placed us that *discord will reign until* the rights of all men are secured:—and that this is indeed our best hope and the safety of the republic. We are to warn men that the danger to-day is not because the South has encamped in the White House; it is best it fix its headquarters in the Senate Chamber. This is *our* duty, to say as we have always done what all true men know but will not publicly confess. But for those who still act with the Republican party another course is open. Were I a Republican I should feel it to be my duty to denounce the United States Congress as a standing libel on the Republican party. Its members by word and deed have again and again acknowledged the nation's debt to the negro. They have again and again declared their faith that only by the prompt and full payment of this debt can the nation save either its honor or its life. And yet they affirm by their action, on this proposed Constitutional Amendment, that the Republican party means to repudiate this debt—will desert any leader that seeks to pay it, and is, in short, a mass of truckless cowards and repudiators. Their actions coined into plain words are, "our party believes that justice won't pay, that honor is an empty word, and that everything is honest which can keep out of jail." If I were a Republican I would agitate every caucus to repudiate this Congressional action. I would question every candidate and oppose every one who did not repudiate it. I would strain every nerve to make my State reject it. I should assume, what I believe, that the *party* is not in accord with this act of its leaders and that with proper effort they may be repudiated or conquered. The hour is short. What is done must be done at once. The people are not the base, disheartened and selfish pedlers these Congressional office-seekers fancy them, in their fear. The people mean honestly and with fair opportunity would vindicate the worth of Democratic institutions. If they go astray it will be because they are hoodwinked and then startled into a craven and selfish policy.

I would rouse Massachusetts to throw off this nightmare, bred of Henry Wilson's aspen leaf and utterly needless truckling to save his party, which, in the hands of a *man*, could dictate terms instead of nearly begging for its life, like a dog. I would have Maine refuse this decoction of the Compromise Convention of 1861 handed to her by the "Good Lord, Good Devil" atheism, which always rules a thoroughly Whig heart. I would have New York teach her Senators that they cannot act as whippers-in to Mr. Seward under any disguise without being covered with the pitch that defiles him. I would have Pennsylvania tell her own high-hearted Thaddeus Stevens that if, in that trial hour, he had continued to believe in her and in his own young dreams, and at the close of his touching speech said NO instead of *yes* to a nation's suicide he would have left a Congressional record without a blot.

Reject the amendments and have the credit of it; they are sure to be defeated; the President's Message to the Southern States has secured that. His blind obstinacy saved us from Wilson and Wade's Colorado. Is it to save us yet again from this second effort to disgrace and ruin ourselves?

We urge on all Republicans to save their party from death at the hands of its own leaders. No doubt both parties are dissolving and new ones are to be formed. Irreconcilable differences forbode the rupture of the dominant party. Whether its majority go forward under a new name and worthy leaders to complete the work into which Providence has hitherto forced their reluctant souls—or are to cry out, "Torment us not before our time. Allow us to lie down in the slough of Whig atheism and be at rest. The work of being honest men and standing by our pledges is too hard: we beg thee have us excused." Which path they will choose, none can divine. Over them or through them JUSTICE MUST BE DONE.

Our hope is that the Democratic Convention to be held by Messrs. Doolittle and Randall, Garrett Davis and Reverdy Johnson at Philadelphia, as soon as Congress adjourns, may take such ground as will restore even Henry Wilson to his senses and enhearten the tremblers of the Republican party for once to believe their own professions and to trust the people. If so their party presses will be relieved from their tongue-tied vassalage and thorough, manly discussion of national issues be allowed.

Meanwhile the friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society will see in the present circumstances most abundant, though little needed, evidence how wisely they acted in keeping their organization and journal still in being. Ninety-nine out of every hundred of the Republican presses support this Congressional surrender. Fluent and active in denouncing the President's treason to the negro, they omit no opportunity to applaud their own. Each morning they prove to their chuckling readers that they are the shrewdest swindlers on record. Hardly a voice asserts the rights of the negro or the necessities of the nation. As usual a great National Fraud is to be perpetrated, and—though the parties, like Roman Augurs, cannot look each other in the face without laughing—still they hope to hoodwink the world by calling it a *Compromise!* An honorable Compromise is a bargain between two equals, each freely surrendering a portion of his rights. An American Compromise is, always has been, a plot between two footpads—a Whig and a Democrat—to rob an absent and innocent and protesting third party—the Negro—of his rights.

At such a moment it is vitally important that there should be honest and vigilant watchmen on the walls; that some ungagged lips should fearlessly proclaim the danger. As usual, the Anti-Slavery press is, with a very, *very* few exceptions, the only one honest and bold enough to protest and expose the fraud. Till the men whom slavery poisoned before she permitted them to play at being Republicans are all in their graves, such a press will be needed. Let every one who loves justice, National honor, and the Negro, support it vigorously.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

REPORT OF THE JAMAICA COMMISSION.

WE print in another column a synopsis, from the London *Inquirer*, of the report of the Jamaica Commission. It was presented to Parliament, after a long delay, on the 18th ult. We fully endorse, as giving our own impression of the report, the following comments of the (London) *Daily News*. It says:

"The Commission, in preparing their report, seem to have gone to work with great reluctance. At every turn they have to speak of horrid deeds done with a heartiness of disposition and an energy of will which make the reader shudder, and for which somebody must surely be responsible, and these they do not conceal; but again and again they stop short, when a single step further would have compelled them to denounce not only a crime but a criminal. When they think they have an opportunity of extenuating guilt they are explicit and copious, even at the expense of the victims whom injustice and violence have silenced forever.

"But in presence of the foulest misdeeds, from the beginning to the end of the report, they do not decisively condemn a single person. With all this moral infirmity, which hardly differs from cowardice, they have nevertheless delivered a judgment upon the conduct of the Jamaica government and its agents, which fully justifies the severest censures that have been pronounced upon them in this country. With all their propensity to periphrastic euphemism, they are driven to declare that the deeds done in the name of the Queen, of England, of loyalty, and of patriotism, were most atrocious in their character."

It seems that deprivation of land and the bad faith of magistrates, who had not the confidence of the laboring people ("and such as they were could not be expected to have it"), were the chief causes of the outbreak. The total number of deaths caused by the authorities engaged in the suppression was 439, and the number of dwellings burned 1,000. The number flogged "could not have been less than 600!" Wire was twined into the cats, and women were flogged by authority of the courts-martial. Five persons were convicted on the unconfirmed testimony of a man who was himself sentenced to death as a spy. Mr. G. W. Gordon, who was murdered with indecent haste and fiendish barbarity, is acquitted by the Commissioners of having had any "complicity in the outbreak at Morant Bay, or of having been a party to a general conspiracy against the government." The Commissioners discredit the story that the blacks were going to rise at a future time, and attach no importance to the reports of drillings and threatning letters.

Our infamous slave system in this country has never furnished illustrations of a more cruel, fiendish barbarism than was exhibited in the horrible atrocities of these outrages, perpetrated in the name, and with the authority of the English government. For many years we have been singing the praises of the West India Emancipation, with each recurrence of the first of August anniversary. This lesson of Jamaica should teach Englishmen, and especially Republican Americans, that there is no true emancipation for the hitherto enslaved until they are fully and equally enfranchised, with the power of selfprotection which attaches to equal citizenship.

The lesson should have special significance to us at this time. Already we have had our Memphis, our magistrates sell colored offenders into slavery, and colored criminals are burned at the stake! In Jamaica, and at the South alike, land is a need of the freedmen, and the ballot should be guaranteed to them to ensure mutual, abiding confidence between the people and their governments.

EPISCOPALIANS AND THE FREEDMEN.

WE find in a late number of the *Church Journal* (Episcopalian) an article of much interest on "The Southern Dioceses and the Freedmen." The subject of the Freedmen and their temporal and spiritual interests has been before the several Southern Diocesan Conventions, and the Virginia Council. Says the *Journal:*

"*Not one* has passed the subject by. *Not one* has failed to treat it in a calm, earnest, affectionate spirit, with a full and open declaration of the *duty* imposed upon them by the Providence of God to make *that* field the first an I greatest object of their labors in the cause of missions."

It adds:

"There was but one voice also in regard to the good conduct of the colored people during the War. In many parts of the country they had been left by thousands, with hardly a white man among them, and with white women and children at their mercy should they choose to rise. Yet *no* attempt at insurrection had any where been made."

The question of church fellowship and organizations for the colored people was a leading topic for consideration. Our readers will remember the faithful efforts of JOHN JAY, Esq, in the Episcopal Conventions held in this city in past years, to achieve equal representation for the colored members. The allusion which the *Journal* makes to this agitation, in which Mr. Jay took so honorable a part, is very significant, coming from that quarter. It says:

"In discussing the points here involved, much the same ground was gone over with which, in years past, we were too unpleasantly familiar in this Diocese and in Pennsylvania, touching the organization and representation of colored churches. There were some who contended that the colored members of the Church should belong to the present parish organizations: but it was replied, very emphatically, by those who had devoted their whole lives to ministerial labors among the colored people, that *this would not satisfy them;* and by an overwhelming vote—practically unanimous in fact—it was cordially agreed that *everything asked for should be granted.* The colored people are to have their own parishes, elect their own wardens and vestrymen, choose their own ministers, and manage their own affairs with as entire independence as any other parishes. Every encouragement is to be given to those of them who may show an aptitude and desire for the ministry. And the vigorous work now going on among the colored Church people of Richmond under the Rev. Mr. Dashiell is an earnest of what may be expected from the intelligent zeal with which Churchmen are taking hold of this great work.

"The tough point for future action is, of course, that of representation in the Diocesan Council. That was not asked for in the petition from colored Churchmen which was presented, and therefore there was no call for immediate action concerning it. But it was alluded to again and again during the discussion. The Rev. Mr. Sprigg was the first to say, on that floor, that as for himself, he was perfectly willing to sit in that Council side by side with any colored man whom the Church had found worthy to be ordained to the ministry, or with any sober, pious, intelligent and respectable colored laymen, found worthy to be sent there as lay delegates from colored parishes. Dr. Andrews affirmed equal willingness on his part, and on that of the Rev. John T. Clark of Halifax (who formerly owned more than 150 slaves, and has for thirty years been giving to them and their race the greater part of his ministerial services). We are satisfied from what we heard in private, that these are by no means the only three members of the Council who are *now* willing to take that ground. But, as the discussion has thus begun, and men's minds are at work, we may as well mention what has been the experience of the Dioceses of New York and Pennsylvania on this vexed question. It may be summed up in one sentence:—There was obstinate, virulent, incessant agitation *until* equal representation was granted to the colored congregations, and there has not been the slightest breath of trouble or annoyance *since.*"

The principle of *equal representation* for colored people here recognized and commended by the *Journal* (not so much, we fear, from conscience, as a matter of church policy), is a true one, and we are glad that in the proudest sect there are at least three influential members, and one able journal, to support it. We commend it likewise to the notice of politicians, and assure them there will be "incessant agitation," as in the Dioceses of New York and Pennsylvania, until equal representation is granted, irrespective of complexion, at the ballot box and in the Halls of Congress.

TREASURER OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, of Boston, has been appointed Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society. WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH, the former Treasurer of the Society, was re-elected at the annual meeting in May last, but declined to again accept the office. Donations and pledges due to the Society should be addressed to RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, Boston, Mass., or to A. M. POWELL (Assistant Treasurer), 39 Nassau street, New York.

In this connection we will suggest that the friends of impartial freedom can render most valuable assistance at the present time by making liberal contributions to the treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society. With the present condition of affairs, both at the South and at the North, the continued need of an outspoken journal like THE STANDARD is apparent. Every agency which can be efficiently employed to mould public opinion aright and counteract the fatal tendency to renewed compromise and disaster, is highly important. We invite and urge the friends of justice and impartial liberty, wherever THE STANDARD circulates, to place large and generous contributions, according to their ability, at the disposal of the American Anti-Slavery Society in aid of its work.

PERSONAL.

The English papers state that Queen Emma is to go to the United States on her way to the Sandwich Islands.

A. T. Stewart's income tax for last year is over $400,000.

Gen. Grant was invited to visit about ninety-six places on the Fourth of July.

William Cassidy, Esq., editor of the Albany *Argus*, sailed for Europe last week.

Gen. Logan, of Illinois, will stump Pennsylvania for Gen. Geary.

Gen. McClellan was last at Gemunden, on the beautiful lake of that name, near the borders of Tyrol.

J. C. Breckinridge is residing in the Town of Niagara, C. W.

The Presidency of the Vermont University at Burlington has been offered to Prof. S. G. Brown, of Dartmouth College.

Governor R. M. Patton, of Alabama, is at St. Louis to negotiate State bonds for $50,000, the money to be used for the succor of poor and destitute families of Alabama.

The Hon. Thaddeus Stevens is named by the Lancaster *Express* as a candidate for United States Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mlle. Cornelie Meyerbeer, the youngest daughter of the late composer, is about to be married to Gustave Richter, a professor in the School of Fine arts in Berlin.

Artemus Ward was met, on his landing in England, with an offer of £4,000 and all expenses paid, for a lecturing tour of six months.

Professor Agassiz and wife will sail from Rio Janeiro for home on the July steamer, in company with Mrs. George N. Davis, whose husband, formerly of Boston, is an American merchant in Rio.

Austin Hopkins, a soldier whose mind had never recovered from the effects of his life at the Andersonville Prison, commited suicide at Woonsocket, R. I., on Monday night.

Gen. Seymour, commanding at Pensacola, Fla., has virtually established martial law in an order recently issued. He says the civil authorities do not prevent crime or protect loyal persons.

Among the lecturers announced in the next lecture course at Indianapolis are Alexander H. Stephens, Fred. Douglass, Horatio Seymour, Wendell Phillips, John B. Gough, and P. T. Barnum.

A black millionaire has arrived in Paris—the Duke de Boutouqui Perce. He is one of the ex-Emperor Soulouque's courtiers. His fortune is said to be seven millions.

Mr. Henry Villard, says the *Commonwealth*, son-in-law of Wm. Lloyd Garrison, is to be the government editor of the records of the war furnished for publication, at an annual salary of $2,500. He is a gentleman of fine discrimination and intelligence.

George Peabody, it is said, has Yale College next on his list of endowments. He is to commence next Spring the erection of a building for a geographical cabinet, with ample accommodations for a chemical laboratory and philosophical lecture room.

Mr. James Shea, a rich old bachelor of St. Louis, died recently, leaving the bequest of $100,000 to the Hospital of the Sisters of Charity, in that city, in which institution, when poor and friendless, he had received medical care and nursing.

Prof. S. F. B. Morse, whose name is rendered illustrious throughout the world by the greatest invention of the age, has sailed for Europe. Among several important missions which he has to fulfil, he was the bearer of a plan for preventing the loss of the Atlantic cable, should it part as before.

Frederick Gifford, Jr., of Hudson, N. Y., and Miss Louisa Manly, of Ottawa, Ill., were drowned near Hudson on Wednesday, July 4. They were upon a pic-nic excursion to Rogers Island, with a party in small boats. The boat they were in was swamped. They were both warmly esteemed by a large circle of friends, and were young people of unusual promise.

Nelson G. Merry, a colored preacher, in Nashville, has been bound over to appear at the next term of the Criminal court to answer a charge of violating the State law against amalgamation, in marrying a white man to a negress. Merry is said to be quite innocent of intional violation of the law, witnesses generally swearing that they could not decide, at the time of the marriage ceremony, whether the man was white or of impure blood. The trial attracted a large crowd of spectators.

Gov. Hamilton, of Texas, is reported to be preparing a call for a convention of real Union men of the South, to meet in Washington in September next. He characterizes the August Convention, to be held in Philadelphia, another rebel invasion of the North to form an alliance with the Democratic party for the reinstatement of the rebel leaders in their former political power, to the utter exclusion of the Union men who have been persecuted, oppressed, and ignored for the last few years.

The Rochester (N. Y.) *Union* of Saturday says: "The Rev. Joel Lindsley, who whipped his child to death in Shelby, Orleans county, because it would not say its prayers, has fled to Canada to save his life, which he did not deem safe in the neighborhood where he resided. After giving bail in the sum of $10,000 he went to his father's house, and not feeling himself safe he returned to Albion and offered his living body to the Sheriff for safe keeping; but the Sheriff refused to accept him, and Lindsley took the first train for Canada. These are the facts in the case."

The Rochester *Express* mentions that the walking-stick used by the late President Lincoln during the last years of his life is in the possession of Frederick Douglass. It says: "Mr. Lincoln desired to present Mr. Douglass with some token of his regard, and had spoken of his wish to his wife. After his death, Mrs. Lincoln, in carrying out what she knew was the desire of her honored husband, sent the cane to Mr. Douglass, with a letter explaining those circumstances. The cane is a very ordinary one, but is, of course, highly prized by its owner, as a relic of the great and good man who was his friend."

Mr. Carlyle, says the *Pall-Mall Gazette*, has composed the following inscription, to be placed on the tombstone which he is going to erect over the grave of his wife: "Here likewise now rests Jane Welch Carlyle, spouse of Thomas Carlyle, Chelsea, London. She was born at Haddington, 14th July, 1801; only child of the above John Welch and of Grace Welch, Caplegell, Dumfriesshire, his wife. In her bright existence she had more sorrows than are common, but also a soft invincibility, a clearness of discernment, and a noble loyalty of heart which are rare. For forty years she was the true and loving helpmate of her husband, and by act and word unwearedly forwarded him as none else could in all of worthy that he did or attempted. She died at London, 21st April, 1866, suddenly snatched away from him, and the light of his life as if gone out."

John Stuart Mill, in a late debate in the British Parliament, replied to personal taunts levelled at him for opinions expressed in his books. He might have been flattered, he said, by the familiarity displayed with his works, but for the sad evidence that the familiarity did not go beyond certain small passages susceptible of use in debate. If honorable members knew his whole writings as well as they knew these little bits of them, they would have formed a different impression of his views. In the meantime, he adhered steadily to the representation of minorities, and promised to support any amendment recognizing it. In explaining another

quoted assertion of his, that the Conservative party are, by the law of their nature, necessarily the stupidest party, he said: "*The Conservatives are probably stupid, but I meant to say that stupid people are generally Conservatives*"—a principle of which, he said, Conservatives should be proud, since it insured their being such a "powerful party."

THE COLORED PEOPLE OF BOSTON.

LETTER FROM DR. WILLIAM WELLS BROWN.

BOSTON, July 2, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

I ALWAYS read with interest the letters of your correspondents from this section, but sometimes think they do not give color enough to their productions; and as it is possible that I have a larger share of the organ of color, if not more fully developed, your readers, I hope, will pardon me if I shall lean as far on the one side as they have done on the other. The colored population of this city number about three thousand, scattered over the town like other folks, and acting pretty much like the rest of mankind. They have their literary, religious and benevolent societies, one military company, (the "Shaw Guards"), and do their share in the world's great bustle of business. Some large stores are owned and conducted by them. Many of the best mechanics are men who were brought up at the South; for the larger share of the population were once slaves; some having resided here for forty years. Since the close of the war, several hundreds have been brought here for servants, who find ready employment and good pay; and still the cry is "bring on more freedmen." This class of the community is having gay times just now, naugurated last week by a wedding in high life, the most interested parties being Mr. H. J. Gray and Miss Carrie E. Butler. On the night of the occasion the thermometer stood at 85 in the dark, what it was in the groom's pocket, I cannot say, but oh, how the perspiration rolled from his face! I pitied the poor fellow from the bottom of my heart. The company was large and brilliant, notwithstanding the heat. But the finest scene of the season was the opening and dedication of a new house of worship by the Zion Methodist Episcopal Church, in North Russell street. The house was formerly occupied by a society of whites, who, finding it too small, sold it. The building will seat fifteen hundred persons, is of modern architecture, having a magnificent mahogany pulpit and altar, and the tops of the pews of the same choice wood; splendid galleries, an organ of rare finish and tone, and a clock of much beauty. The upholstery is not surpassed by any place of worship in the city. Altogether, it is no doubt the most costly church in New England occupied and owned by colored persons.

Last Sunday was the day of dedication, and long before the time of meeting the people could be seen wending their way to the new house. The New England Conference of colored Methodists having just closed in a neighboring State, most of their ablest clergymen were here. At ten o'clock the edifice was filled in every part, almost entirely by colored persons. You may not be aware that our people are somewhat given to dress, you would certainly have thought so if you had been present. Nothing out of place, but silks, satins, laces, bonnets of the latest fashion, from the little tea saucer that sits jauntily upon a few hairs, down to the scoup shovel upon the head of the last freedwoman brought here by brother Grimes. Jewelry of the richest kind and diamonds in abundance decked the persons of the fair sex; not any of your California brilliants, but gems of the purest water. Many of the congregation were freedmen and women who came here within the past year but who appeared to be as much at home as the oldest settler. As the organ filled the building with its sweet sounds and the finely cultivated choir sang, the audience rose and the fifteen hundred present seemed to feel that the day of Jubilee had come. One elderly sister near me and late from Dixie, looked to the ceiling and exclaimed "Dis is a great day for Zion." The sermon was preached by the Rev. Wm. H. Bishop, long acknowledged as one of the leaders in the denomination, and an able man. Although in years, his effort on this occasion was a success. In the evening, the Rev. Singleton T. Jones of Washington, D.C., occupied the desk. In point of intelligence, eloquence, logic, good language and oratorical power, he is the great gun of the connection. Large frame, musical voice, blood unadulturated from his forefathers on the coast of Congo down to him, a man of gentlemanly appearance, Mr. Jones may well be put forth as a representative man of his race. He gave a discourse that captivated his audience and left an impression that will not soon be forgotten. When we remember that the colored people of the South have been so long kept in darkness by law and public opinion, and so many obstacles put in the way of their education in the free States, we cannot wonder that there is such a great amount of ignorance among them. What they need now is an educated ministry, for go to meeting they will, and whether the preacher be educated or not, he will exercise an influence over his hearers. I am glad that they, the religious denominations, see this, and are moving in the matter. What could not a man like Mr. Jones do among his people at the South?

On Monday evening the same society opened a fair and festival for the week, to enable them to pay up the debt on the new house. Their pastor, the Rev. George H. Washington, deserves much credit for his energy in obtaining this house. We have five places of worship for colored persons in the city, the largest and most fashionable congregation being that of the Rev. L. A. Grimes, long and favorably known as the friend of the fugitive slave. Speaking of that class, I may mention the fact that a night school for the freedmen has for months been kept open here, free of charge, with some of the "upper ten" of the whites as teachers, the attendance at which is very numerous. Three colored men hold positions in the Post Office, two in the Custom House, and some employed in the Navy Yard. At the State House you can also see three or four of the same class. Four lawyers attend the courts here, and seem to have their share of the sins of the people to look after. Doctors, we have a superabundance, most of whom appear to be in good practice. The colored people have held several meetings for the purpose of aiding the subscription recently started for the benefit of Mr. Garrison, for which I am glad, for he deserves all that they can do in that way, and it shows an appreciation of their friends which speaks well for their hearts.

W. W. B.

LECTURES BY FRANCES E. W. HARPER.

NEW ROCHELLE, Westchester Co., N. Y., 7th month, 2d, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

PERHAPS it may be interesting to the readers of THE STANDARD to know that Frances Ellen Watkins Harper has recently been on a short lecturing tour in Westchester county. Her principle topics were "The Lessons of the War," and "Universal Suffrage." At Mamaroneck, on the 18th of 6th mo., we succeeded in getting for her the old unoccupied Methodist Meeting House. There has been a great change in the feelings of the people here since thee lectured in the place. Mamaroneck has redeemed her character; she gave Frances an audience of about two hundred attentive listeners. At New Rochelle, on the 9th, the Baptist, Methodist and Episcopal Churches, or meeting houses, were all applied for, and all refused. The Baptists were in the midst of a revival that must not be interrupted. The Methodists "never let their house for a lecture of any kind."

The trustees of the Episcopal house were so widely scattered that we gave up in despair, and were finally obliged to accept a military hall at six dollars for the night. Her meeting here was made up mostly of little barefooted Irish boys and girls, and half-grown men and women, and a few of the adult inhabitants of the place, perhaps fifty in all. The boys evidently came for a row; but Frances managed them very wisely, and spoke to them firmly, yet kindly, and I will add beautifully. The most of them remained until the close, and listened attentively. At Chapaqua she was allowed to occupy a ball-room in a garret over a tavern; the same that thee had the privilege of lecturing in a few years since. The audience was about as large as at New Rochelle; they were very attentive and appeared much pleased with the speaker.

Negro hate, I rejoice to see, is on the wane; but it is to be feared, before it goes entirely out, there will be a good deal of tearing and rending, for it is yet strongly entrenched in the churches, which will be the last strongholds to surrender. There is just enough of the old anti-slavery leaven in them to produce fermentation. At Chapaqua there are the Pierces and Fergusons; at Mamaroneck and vicinity are the Tompkinses, Frenches and Stevenses, and at New Rochelle stands the old veteran John G. Horton, almost alone, with the exception of a few colored people, that do not often take the wrong side of this question.

Frances did not forget to reprove the negro-haters, for their disgraceful conduct, in excluding the colored children from the public schools for the last twenty years in this town.

Very cordially and truly thy friend,

JOSEPH CARPENTER.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, July 8, 1866.

NONE will refuse to acknowledge that there are some good and true men among the prominent members of the Republican party. Nor can it be denied that they desire the right to prevail, the wrong to be overthrown, and practical government to be in harmony with truth and justice. They would use every means for promoting the sway of equal rights, and spare no effort in defence of the establishment of broad, liberal and sacred principles. But an hour comes when some of the best among these lose their constancy. Resolution forsakes them, and they yield sufficient obedience to a false policy to retard the progress of their cherished ideas. Thus it is that truth goes limping along, and justice halts in its course.

Conservative men, cold and callous, esteeming lightly the interests of unfriended humanity, indifferent to the claims of a powerless and persecuted class whose plea for simple justice they disregard, usually succeed in stamping upon our legislation the impress of their ungenerous natures. Scarcely an important law is enacted that does not bear the marks and proclaim the influence of this time-serving element. We sometimes see how effective it is, and what deference it exacts, in cases where there can be no apology, for irresolution on the part of the Radicals, no excuse for evasion, and no reason for the disclosure of their weakness. How can this be otherwise while there is such a balancing of opinions for the sake of maintaining party strength? The views of one portion go down to meet those of the other in order that no link in the chain that binds them together may be wanting. Full and exact justice, the bright glow of truth without any admixture of error, never will vivify our legislation while political power is so cherished, and the maintenance of mere party integrity is regarded as a primary and paramount object.

The Convention that is to be held in this city, August 14, may be productive of some benefit. Not that the men thus expected to assemble intend to accomplish any positive good. Nothing like this need even be conjectured. Their character is no guarantee that a worthy purpose is likely to animate them. But it seems obvious that the movement will draw off from the Republican party that unprogressive portion which is a barrier and a hindrance to the development of its better character. Its higher aims and thoughts may thereby cease to be vitiated by compromises that are made simply to appease this narrow-souled faction. Its numerical strength may become impaired, but the chances for an improved moral condition will probably be advanced. It needs just such a sifting as this movement is likely to produce.

This Johnsonian convention does not seem to have many zealous advocates here, but no doubt the number is considerable who are in sympathy with its purposes, and will support its action. The only city paper in its advocacy, that I am aware of, is the *Daily News*, an insignificant journal without character and without influence. It is blatant, however, in heralding the objects and wishes of its fraternity, and is an ungifted exponent of the illiberal views and stupid prejudices of its class. It announces, as one of the aims of the new party, "the protection of the rights and privileges of white men as against the infamous doctrine of negro equality, which the Radical leaders of the Republican organization are attempting to force upon the people." This is significant of the leading idea that instigates the call for this convention. Hatred of the negro, his oppression and persecution, opposition to any and all legislative action in his behalf, may be said to constitute the pith and impulse of the movement. This wretched spirit of envenomed persecution will exist, and it is gratifying to know that it has resolved to represent itself through a separate organization. For this reason there is hope that the Republican party will experience in some degree the purification so much needed. It will gain new courage, perhaps, and return to its fundamental principles. It always has boasted of its comprehensive spirit of Democracy, and time after time has reiterated the doctrines that gave soul to the Declaration of Independence as the cardinal virtue of its creed. Let it restore its aspirations for promoting the reign of equality, and forsake that course which involves a sacrifice of the great cause of humanity to selfish considerations. It would then be worthy of the power it hopes to maintain. How glorious, how gladdening would it be for a great party, proclaiming noble principles, aiming to do justice to all mankind, to prove its sincerity by a consistent course, and manifest its devotion to the right by undeviating rectitude of action.

C. A. Walborn, Postmaster of this city, wants to go to Congress. He has distinguished himself by the manly and honorable action of expelling from his service a large number of clerks, for the crime of refusing allegiance to Andrew Johnson's policy. This was noble in Walborn, and entitles him to the respect and confidence, the good will and tender regard, of that constituency which Judge Kelley represents! What bold presumption on the part of the Postmaster! A community that would abandon a Kelley and embrace a Walborn would give indication of a disregard for honor and character superlatively startling. But we have no fear of this blossom giving any fruit. The soil and climate are not adapted to its culture.

A number of gentlemen of the Fourth District have been indulging in the innocent pastime of writing Walborn a letter. It shows great cruelty of feeling towards the new candidate. In consequence of his position as an aspirant for Congressional honors, he is politely asked to give his "views on the issues before the country," if he "expects the support of intelligent voters." He is particularly desired to announce his opinions on the subject of reconstruction, and in the same sentence is coolly informed that the "almost unanimous judgment of the Republicans of the district is on the side of Congress." "We desire to know," says this refreshing letter, "whether you agree with *that* judgment, or whether you unite with the rebels of the South and the Copperheads of the North in support of the '*policy*' of the President." Is it a wonder that the letter, although written on the 23d of June, has not yet elicited a response? An ominous silence reigns instead. Be wise, Mr. Walborn, and restrain your ambition! You are not in the path that leads to Congress, and if you think—you and your sinister compeers, by any perfidious meanness of action—to thwart the natural tendency of the liberal sentiment of the Fourth Congressional District, you will learn what it is to be overwhelmed with obloquy.

W.

LETTER FROM SAMUEL D. MOORE.

TECUMSEH, Mich., June 19, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

I HAD almost concluded, at one time, that the publication of THE STANDARD would soon cease to be a necessity, and my prayers to God were that the cause of its continuance might be entirely removed from the land. But, from the signs of the times, it seems as though we had need to gird on our anti-slavery armor anew. Instead of taking down our STANDARD, to hoist it still higher, and rally round its folds. When I look back to the days of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* (from which I may date my starting in the anti-slavery enterprise), and from that period up through the various organs of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and its auxiliaries, all of which by my subscriptions I have tried to help, when I survey the ground we have gone over, and the obstacles that the cause has had to encounter, both from Church and State, and from men of the baser sort, I am ready to exclaim, surely, the Lord has been on our side, or, rather, we have been on the Lord's side, helping Him to carry forward His work on the earth. And shall we now falter in our labors and lay by our armor? The demon is only changing his coat, and can find supporters at the head of both Church and State. No—I say surely no; this is not the time for us to change our base of operations, but rather to breathe into them new life; and I feel renewedly convinced—let others take what course they may—that it is my duty to myself, my country, and my God, to contribute my mite towards keeping our STANDARD up—high and pure. The injunction was, "First pure—then peaceable." Mark the language: *First* pure—then as much peace as possible; but at any rate be pure; be truthful and stand for the right, and God will be with us.

Yours, as ever, SAMUEL D. MOORE.

WHY SHOULD THE NEGRO VOTE?

To the Editor of the Standard:

THIS question is often answered, "Because the welfare and prosperity of the nation demands it;" but it is seldom urged on this ground alone.

As deliberative bodies have no souls, I think much labor would be saved our Congressmen if they would consider every measure upon the utilitarian principle. They would at least avoid sensitiveness of those who differ from them on the *humanitarian* principle.

I believe the government as often bestows favors where they are ill deserved as otherwise, when our legislators bestow them *as* favors, while there are very few measures *needed* that do not directly benefit the government.

Just so in relation to enfranchising the negro. It will benefit the government of the United States, and especially the States where blacks are numerous, to give them the ballot.

I have spent two years with the freedmen, and when I have told them I thought all that could read and write would eventually be allowed to vote in this country, it would stir a spirit in them as motives would move white men. In fact I found them human and in every respect governed by the same natural laws as other human beings.

And although they showed a greater devotion in the late war, than offering to die for their friends—for they offered to die and did lose their lives by thousands for the government which had never showed itself a friend to them. Yet when the strife is over, and they have won their way to an integral part of the government, and are no longer a mere foreign element in it, it is but natural to suppose they will be governed by motives as other men are, and if the General government does not enfranchise the black man while the power to do so is in the hands of Congress, he will become alienated from the government to an extent to prove an element of weakness instead of strength to the nation.

Hence it will pay to enfranchise the negro, and will not pay to deny him *any* privilege enjoyed by white men.

To admit Southern Congressmen to seats in Congress now, would but renew the party strife that culminated in the assault on Sumner, duel challenges, etc., and benefit nobody, unless it be a benefit for Southern men to act out their selfishness until they become as before, the open enemies of the government and fanatical enough again to take up arms.

I am satisfied with the Report of the Committee on Reconstruction, and hope Congress will—by direct enactments—enfranchise the blacks immediately, that they may have a voice in ratifying the amendment.

T. H.

TO THADDEUS STEVENS.

BY W. P. TOMLINSON.

Honor, thrice honor, unto thee,
Son of the Keystone State,
Brave champion of liberty
And lion of debate!

Proudly, with all a master's grace
And bearing of command,
Thou tak'st once more thine honored place
'Mid councils of the land.

There, with an ever-watchful eye,
Noting each move on floor—
As eagle from its eyrie high,
Debate thou watchest o'er.

And well the hall thy prowess owns!
All craven utterance stills
At ringing of thy clarion tones,
Pride of our Northland hills!

And lightly bearest thou thy years,
Though three-score long has past,
As pine, that sturdier uprears
With every Winter's blast.

Ay, looking backward, thou canst see,
As phantoms dire of wrath,
The baffled hosts of slavery
Glide from the nation's path.

And 'fore thy raptured eye may rise
Vision of future grand,
As his who, beneath Eastern skies,
Gazed on the promised land.

So honor, honor unto thee,
Son of the Keystone State,
Brave champion of liberty
And lion of debate!

LITERARY.

Publisher J. B. Lippincott, of Philadelphia, is in Paris.

Roberts Brothers are about to publish, by special arrangement with the author, "Christina Rosetti's Poems," with illustrations by Dante Gabriel Rossetti.

Alexander Dumas has left Paris for Italy to join Garibaldi, and become the historiographer of the coming campaign.

Ticknor and Fields announce the "Life of John Leech," by Dr. John Brown, author of "Spare Hours," "Rab and his Friends," etc.

Miss Braddon has written a new novel. It is called "What is this Mystery?" and is published in pamphlet form, from advanced sheets, by Hilton & Co. of New York.

Mr. Littell, the venerable editor of the *Living Age*, the 89th volume of which is just completed, announces that, having nearly reached the age of three score years and ten, he would be glad to appoint a successor in the management of his periodical. Its circulation is said to have recently been increased.

CLARK'S SCHOOL VISITOR; a day school Monthly. The July and August numbers of this small periodical will be attractive to our young folks. Some of its pages are also interesting to scholars of larger growth. The supply of this kind of literature does not equal the demand. The children are too frequently overlooked, and are poorly provided for.

De Bow's Review for July continues the publication of the editor's diary as entered up while the war was in progress. His jottings reveal nothing new. The report of the Committee sent from the Edgefield District of South Carolina to investigate the condition of affairs in Brazil with reference to the advisability of emigration thither, is given, and is decidedly favorable to the project. Among the other articles are "The Old and the New," "The Place British Americans Have Won in History," "The Future of South Carolina," etc.

THE METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW for July, D. D. Whedon, D.D., Editor, contains the following articles: The Second General Conference, by Abel Stevens, LL.D.; Bushnell's Vicarious Sacrifice, by Rev. C. H. Fowler, B.D.; Hermeneutics and Homeletics, by S. M. Vail, D.D.; Reminiscences of Rev. Henry Boehm, by Rev. Luther W. Peck, A.M.; John Bright, by Rev. W. F. Mallalieu; Relations of the Colored People to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, by Rev. John H. Caldwell, A.M.; The New York East Conference, by Editor.

POEMS OF HOME AND ABROAD. By W. P. Tomlinson. New York: Hilton & Co. This small volume of poems which is presented to the public in very neat, attractive binding, is characterized by earnestness of thought and purity of sentiment. Many of the themes are evidently suggested by personal experiences of the author, and breathe in their simplicity, warmth of emotion and depth of heart. The reader is made to feel that they are written not as a mere formal expression of sentiment, but from a generous aspiration nobly to serve the cause of truth and liberty—not for display of rhyme, but for the thought embodied. This sincerity and unpretentiousness would seem to forbid even a kindly criticism upon a few inharmonies which are common to many books of this class.

The appeal of "The Northland Girl to the South," is happily conceived, and well rendered. It represents the true fraternal spirit, which, while it scorns revenge, firmly holds to righteous deeds as a basis for social concord—a condition which some of our celebrated divines, far famed for preaching charity and forgiveness, would do well to give heed to.

A wise and true magnanimity requires that full justice be meted out to the oppressed ere increased power be granted to the oppressor.

We wish for this pleasing collection of poems the cordial reception it well deserves in many households.

ART ITEMS.

W. W. Story's statue of Cleopatra is in the house of Mr. Paran Stevens, in Fifth avenue.

Winslow Homer, one of whose war pictures has figured creditably in this year's Academy exhibition, works during the "heated term" at Belmont, Mass.

George Innes is at Leeds, in the Catskills. Some of his pictures are still on exhibition at Snedecor's gallery. One of the best landscapes ever painted by him is in the possession of George Ward Nicholls.

PAGE'S "FARRAGUT TRIUMPHANT."—This picture is now on exhibition at the Somerville Gallery, No. 845 Broadway, under the auspices of the Mercantile Library Association.

J. W. Ehninger will remain during the greater part of the Summer at Lenox, in Massachusetts. During his four years' absence from this country Mr. Ehninger worked a great deal, both in England and upon the Continent, and travelled over a great deal of ground.

Noble, of St. Louis, who served as a captain in the Federal army during the war, is at work painting in that city. The subject on which he is now engaged is a large composition representing the slave-market at St. Louis. The picture will probably be on exhibition here sometime in the ensuing Fall.

Miss Harriet Hosmer is modeling a "Waking Fawn," a companion to her statue of the "Sleeping Fawn." A mischievous youngster of the fawn family has succeeded in binding his sleeping father, who suddenly wakes, breaks the bonds and seizes the young delinquent by the hair.

Mr. George H. Boughton sends here soon two pictures—one a scene from Hawthorne's romance of the "Scarlet Letter," the other an "Interior and Figure." Both are commissions and may be seen at Mr. Avery's Art Gallery, corner of Broadway and Fourth street, on their arrival.

The British Institution, now open in Pall Mall, London, with its Summer exhibition of works of the "old masters," contributed for the season by the "nobility and gentry" from their private collections—for public gratification and in certain cases for artists to be privileged to copy—is this year specially rich in specimens by Sir Joshua Reynolds, also of some of the more recent British masters.

The seventh annual exhibition of the Artists' Fund Society is announced to open on the 8th of November next at the Galleries of the National Academy, Twenty-third street and Fourth avenue, New York. An endeavor is to be made to enrich the collection with a large number of paintings in water colors, arranged together so as to give prominence to works painted in that very capable medium.

During the year which ended with the 31st of March, the expenses of the British Museum amounted to £101,808, and it is estimated that for the present year £102,744 will be required. During the year 1865, 365,967 persons visited the Museum. This does not include 10,271 persons who went to read and to consult books. As may be conjectured from the amount of money spent, there have been many valuable additions made to the collections. Among the acquisitions of the year have been 1,177 documents, and 180 original maps, gained by the department of manuscripts. The departments of oriental, British and medieval antiquities have also been greatly enriched. Perhaps the most notable addition to the treasures of this Museum—the richest, we suppose, in the world—is the celebrated collection of coins and medals belonging to the bank of England. This collection, numbering, with that made by Messrs. Hogarth and Cuff, about 7,700 specimens, has been deposited in the British Museum by the authorities of the bank.

CONGRESS AND WASHINGTON.

IN the Senate on Tuesday, July 3, Mr. Wilson, from the Military Committee, reported the bill for the organization of the regular army, and also the House joint resolution in relation to bounties for colored soldiers.—A resolution was passed authorizing the purchase of the law library of the late James M. Petigru, of South Carolina, for the library of Congress, at the price of five thousand dollars.—An appropriate resolution was also passed which tendered the thanks of Congress to the working men of Lyons, France, for a flag designed for the late anniversary of Mr. Lincoln's death.—The Senate agreed to the House amendments on the smuggling bill.—The Indian appropriation bill was considered and adopted after several amendments.—In the House most of the time of Tuesday was devoted to the consideration of the Tariff bill.—The Freedman's Bureau bill has finally passed both Houses of Congress. It is to be immediately presented to the President for his action. He will be afforded another opportunity to manifest his hostility to all measures looking to the amelioration of the condition of the colored race. This bill extends the operation of the Bureau for two years hence, with supervision over all loyal refugees and freedmen, as far as the same shall be necessary, to aid them in making the freedom conferred by the proclamation of the Commander-in-Chief, by the emancipation, the laws of the States, and by constitutional amendment, available to them and beneficial to the republic.

A significant sign of the times is the address of the Democratic members of Congress, under date of July 4, endorsing the principles set forth in the call for a National Union Convention, to be held at the city of Philadelphia in August next. The cloven foot cannot conceal itself.

The fourth of July passed very quietly in Washington. The colored people manifested their patriotism by a grand procession numbering five thousand. Addresses were delivered to them by several eminent men of their own color, on the grounds east of the capitol.—Thursday, July 5, the Senate agreed to the Conference Committee's report of the Army Appropriation bill.—The joint resolution for the appointment of Commissioners to examine the claims of Massachusetts against the General government for coast defences was considered, amended and passed.—A resolution was also passed calling upon the President for information as to the number of American vessels destroyed by pirates off the coast of China.—The Pacific Railroad bill came up in order, and a substitue of Mr. Stevens was adopted, 71 to 67, when the bill as amended, was laid on the table, 134 to 11.

The Army Appropriation bill was presented and accepted.—The Pennsylvania contested election case was called up and postponed. The effort to reannex Alexandria to the District of Columbia is resolutely opposed by the Democrats, chiefly on account of the pending bill to enfranchise the loyal negroes of the first families of Virginia in the District.—Friday, July 6, the Commerce Committee reported favorably on the House resolution for the appointment of a Committee on Retrenchment.—In the House the bill granting pensions to the officers and soldiers of the war of 1812 was considered; action was taken upon several amendments, and it was recommitted to the Committee on Invalid Pensions, 71 to 46. The most important objection made to this bill is that its benefits are not extended to the soldiers of the late war.—The report of the Conference Committee on the Internal Revenue bill, after some discussion, was agreed to, 71 to 57.—Both Houses of Congress have agreed to the Conference Committee's report on the Tax bill. As soon as it can be engrossed, it will go to the President.

Gov. Hamilton of Texas and several other prominent Southern Union men, are preparing a call for a Convention of loyal Union men of Southern States to be held in Washington in September.

The weather was so excessively warm on Saturday, July 7, Congress made but little progress. Nearly 40 members were absent, many of them on account of sickness.—In the Senate Mr. Trumbull reported from the Judiciary Committee the bill to regulate appointments to and removals from office. This is designed to prevent the President from causing unjust removals during the recess of Congress, holding all such action subject to the decision of the Senate.—The minority report of the Reconstruction Committee, after considerable discussion, was received with the understanding that such action should not be deemed a precedent for the future.—Petitions asking for the speedy trial, by Court-martial, of Jefferson Davis, and for the expulsion of Garret Davis from the Senate were reported back and a discharge requested from further consideration of the same. Both these gentlemen seem likely to be left to enjoy their treason.—A joint resolution guaranteeing a Mexican loan to the amount of $50,000,000 was introduced and referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.—In the House the duty on Coffee was reduced from 5 to 2½ cents, and on tea from 25 to 12½ cents per pound.—The Smuggling bill was agreed to.—The railroad from Alexandria to Fredericksburg has been put under contract to be completed in 18 months.

Monday, July 9, in the Senate, Mr. Clark, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported a bill to regulate the times and manner of holding the elections for Senators in Congress.—The House bill relating to pilots and pilot regulations was taken up and passed.—The army bill was called up, materially amended, read a third time, and passed. It now goes to the House. Among the amendments to the Army bill was one increasing the number of colored regiments to three instead of two, as reported by the Military Committee, and another striking out all the provision for the retention of the Veteran Reserve Corps.

In the House on Monday a bill was introduced to change the time for the annual meeting of Congress from the first Monday in December to the first Monday in November; also one for the providing for the safety of passengers on steam and sail vessels.—A joint resolution was introduced granting to railroad companies the right of way not exceeding one hundred feet in width on each side of the track on the military reserve. A concurrent resolution that, when Congress adjourn, it shall adjourn to meet on the 1st day of December next, was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means.—The Committee on Elections reported in the case of Koontz contesting the seat of Coffroth, Sixteenth Pennsylvania District, that the former was entitled to the seat.—The Army bill was then taken up, the Senate bill reported back, and the House bill substituted therefor. As amended the bill was passed.—The House then went into Committee of the Whole on the Tariff bill, which was considered to the end, when the Committee arose and reported the bill and amendments.—Certain Senate amendments to the House Army bill were concurred in.—The vote agreeing to the Conference Committee's report on the Smuggling bill was reconsidered, and the bill recommitted to the Committee on Commerce.

A GREAT FIRE IN PORTLAND.—A fire broke out about 5 p.m., on the 4th inst., in a boat-building shop at Portland, Maine, and continued for twelve hours. The wind blowing a gale, consuming all the houses in an area over a mile in length and from one-fourth to one-half a mile in width. The buildings destroyed comprise seven banks, four newspaper offices, eight churches, and four hotels. Two thousand families are rendered houseless and ten millions of dollars worth of property destroyed. Help has been sent from neighboring towns, and large supplies of cooked and uncooked food forwarded from Boston and elsewhere, for the relief of those who had lost everything. The fire is supposed to have originated from a boy's fire-cracker.

THE RELIGIO-PHILOSOPHICAL JOURNAL, an ably edited, liberal weekly, published at Chicago, in a very friendly notice of this paper, says: "The STANDARD is a good paper, and we wish people would subscribe for, and read it, even if they are 'conservative.' No one is truly capable of judging the merits or demerits of a case until he has heard the evidence on both sides.

The STANDARD is the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and is published at 39 Nassau street, N. Y., at $3 a year."

A CARD.

THE subscriber would inform the readers of the *Christian Mirror* that (in consequence of the disastrous conflagration of the 4th and 5th) its issue must necessarily be suspended two or three weeks—until another office can be found, and new materials procured. We saved our Subscription List and Account Books: these for the present will be found at our residence, 427 Congress street, head of State street.

CHARLES A. LORD.

Portland, July 6, 1866.
(Will Exchanges please copy?)

GIVE HIM A CHANCE.—A wide-awake minister, who found his congregation going to sleep one Sunday before he had fairly commenced, suddenly stopped and exclaimed, "Brethren, this isn't fair; it isn't giving a man half a chance. Wait till I get along a little piece, and then if I ain't worth listening to, go to sleep; but don't before I get commenced. Give a man a chance."

Theodore Hook was once challenged by a gentleman named Dunlop to pun on his name. "Oh," said the wit, "lop off half the name and it is done" (Dun).

Special Notices.

NEW PHYSIOGNOMY, OR SIGNS OF CHARACTER, as manifested through Temperament and External Forms, with 1,000 illustrations, by S. R. WELLS, of the *Phrenological Journal*. One handsome 12 mo. vol. 768 pages. Post paid $5. Agents wanted. FOWLER & WELLS, 389 Broadway, N. Y. 7.10

THOSE desiring information in regard to the next session of Medical Lectures for women, please address Mrs. C. S. Lozier, M. D., or Mrs. Mrs. M. A. Densmore, M. D., 361 West 34th street, N. Y., or Mrs. C. F. Wells, 389 Broadway, N. Y.

THE AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY, 121 Nassau street, New York, will supply THE STANDARD to news dealers and others in or out of the city.

THE STANDARD IN PHILADELPHIA.—T. B. PUGH, corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets, has THE STANDARD for sale. BENJAMIN C. BACON, at the office of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, will supply specimen copies, and receive and forward new subscriptions for THE STANDARD.

THE STANDARD IN BOSTON.—JOHN J. DYER & CO., No. 35 School street, as our agents in Boston, will hereafter receive and forward subscriptions for THE STANDARD, and supply single copies to such as desire.

THE LA TOURETTEE HOUSE,

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Clinton Hall, up stairs, Astor Place, New York.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.—All Colored Soldiers, their widows, or heirs, are requested to call at this office without delay,

(Up Stairs), U. S. ARMY AGENCY, 243 Broadway, N. Y.

REMOVED, JUNE 1, FROM 64 BLEECKER STREET.

P. S.—Those residing out of New York and in the adjoining States, by sending their address and stating Regiment and Company to which belonged, will receive information by mail valuable to them.

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During this long period they have manufactured a vast number of instruments of all styles; AND WHEREVER THEY HAVE BEEN EXHIBITED IN COMPETITION WITH THE INSTRUMENTS OF OTHER MAKERS, THEY HAVE INVARIABLY TAKEN THE HIGHEST PREMIUM.

THE LAST TRIUMPH OF CARHART & NEEDHAM.

At the Fair of the American Institute held in New York in 1865, Carhart & Needham received the *Special Gold Medal* over all other reed instruments in competition. The judges were Dr. Wm. Berge, C. B. Seymour (critic of the N. Y. *Times*), Thomas Appleton, organ builder of Boston, George Gardine, organ builder of New York, and Dr. E. Ringer, an expert.

EXTRACTS FROM THE SEVERAL REPORTS OF THE JUDGES:

From report of Dr. Wm. Berge.

"The quality of the tone is the best I have ever heard; and the number of stops surpassed my expectations. The delicacy of *touch* and the quickness of *speech* are remarkable. I consider the Parlor Organ of Carhart & Needham to be the best on exhibition, and entitled to the highest award of the Institute."

From the report of C. B. Seymour.

"The undersigned thinks it proper to suggest that Carhart & Needham should receive a Special First Premium for their large Parlor Organ."

From report of Thomas Appleton.

"No. 526 is the best for, 1st, It contains more reeds and of greater variety than any other. 2d. The reeds are placed above the key-board, thereby allowing a greater volume of sound to be heard. 3. The successful application of the swell which makes this instrument resemble the church organ more nearly than any previous arrangement. 4th. The voicing of the reeds is remarkable, and in the smoothness and quality of tone they resemble pipes more than reeds. *The instrument is undoubtedly superior to any ever before constructed with reeds.*"

From the report of George Jardine.

"Carhart & Needham were the first in the world to discover and demonstrate that vibrating tongues or reeds can descend lower in the bass with the very finest quality of tone, rich, round and full, of quick articulation and free from *weariness*, right down to the 32 feet tone of C. C. CC."

From report of Dr. Ringer.

"No. 526 is the best for its superior softness, evenness and power of tone, being less ready than in any instrument I have examined. 2d. For the great number of keys of different character of tone, which give the player an almost infinite variety of combinations."

From Watson's Weekly Art Journal.

AWARDS TO MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.—A Gold Medal was awarded at the late Fair of the American Institute to CARHART & NEEDHAM, for the best reed instrument on exhibition—a most deserved testimonial.

"They are an exceedingly good substitute for an organ and I can speak of them in the highest terms."

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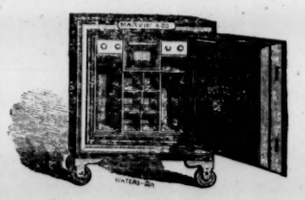

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Miscellaneous Department.

THE FREEDMAN.

BY CASPAR RUTZ OF CHICAGO.

Founded on fact, and inscribed to Mr. Andrew Johnson. The poem appears in the *Westliche Post* of St. Louis. Translated from the German for the Boston *Commonwealth*.

THE days have shortened the cold winds moan,—
What wanderer crosses the field alone,
Facing the wintry weather?
With weary feet through the wood he goes;
The fading twilight a pale gleam throws;
And the mists of the evening gather.

Dusky his features, and wooly his hair;
Torn and dusty, and faded with wear,
I see the blue coat of the private:
On his shoulder he carries the Union gun.
From the great campaign, from the the victory won;
He hastens his home to arrive at.

The Union! in darkest days of all,
He rushed to battle, obeying her call,
When Life or Death was the guerdon!
In the last great fight, his bayonet shone;
And now he comes back with joy to his own
Released from slavery's burden.

He hurries along the lighted streets;
But his eyes he scarcely raises
To the marble walls; and of all he meets,
None welcomes him or praises.
With timorous step, that trembled not
In the wildest roar of cannon,
When Petersburg volleyed her deadly shot,
He shuns every white companion.

And farther and farther, with weary feet,
Through the city's darkening mazes,
He hurries; and still no man does he meet,
Who welcomes him or praises.
But here, where the cabins stand in a row,
Whither his steps have tended,
The joy of home in his heart doth glow,
For his pilgrimage is ended.

Softly he knocks at the lowly door;
On the door-step his musket rattles;
Inside his little one plays on the floor,
And listens amid his prattles.
He opens—"O father!" he shouts at the sight;
"Here he is, home again, mother!"
And child and husband and wife with delight
Are kissing and clasping each other.

Home again, home again, happy and free!
In his arm, his baby he tosses;
"Great was the boon, and worth more to me
Than ten times my struggles and crosses.
For you the money my labor earns,
For you the pursuit of pleasure;
'Twas a *slave* went forth, but a *man* returned!
The sword has won Liberty's treasure."

There's a crashing knock at the cabin door,
The panels shatter and shiver;
He springs to his rifle—on picket once more—
"Who's there?—the Union forever!"
"In the name of the State," the sheriff begins,
"I arrest you—the handcuffs are ready—
No nigger allowed to carry a gun!
All right!—to jail with him!—steady!"

The days have lengthened, the March winds moan;
What wanderer crosses the fields alone,
Facing the wintry weather?
O Freedom! the leaves of thy laurel are shed;
Thou wanderest silent, with drooping head;
And the mists of the midnight gather.

WHAT ENGLISHMEN BEST LIKE TO BE.

From the Spectator.

WHAT is really the best external position, the position securing the largest amount of enjoyment and possible usefulness attainable by an Englishman in the present age? The question was started the other day among a group of literary men, all doing nothing with the eager interest characteristic of the class when engaged in that occupation, and each was called on to tell his ideal as honestly as he could. The replies, all intensely characteristic, were all a little *bizarre*. "The position of a constitutional king," said one, who will be recognized by many from the sentence, "is the best conceivable, great wealth, great respect, indefinite possibilities of usefulness, and enormous power, to be attained without observation, or responsibility, or exertion, except in chat." "Well," said another, "I'd rather be Speaker, live at the centre of things, hear everything, see everything, and have nothing serious to do, but sit and look dignified for half the year." "Pooh!" said a third, "Varden's berth is better than the Speakership. The librarian of the House of Commons may hear as much as he likes, and as little, and do and leave undone, pretty much as he chooses. It is a literary hermitage in the centre of the world." "I agree with Lever's eternal proposition," said the fourth, that "there never has been, and never will be again in the world, a position so good as that of a British Peer, with £40,000 a year." "Give me £400 a year," said the fifth, "with nothing to do and cultivation enough to enjoy doing it." "That's piggish," said the sixth, "the best position would be Editor of the *Times*, with no night-work." And the seventh summed up by demanding with brief alliterative compactness, a "marquisite and a million." These are all the ideals of men of a peculiar habit of life, men to whom life without politics or with any fierce or continuous labor would be almost equally distasteful, and it would be a curious experiment to apply the same test to a score of the average middle class. They would all, say somebody who has a tendency to believe in Matthew Arnold, ask to be millionairies? Not two of the twenty. Thoroughly occupied Englishmen hunger no doubt for money, but they thirst still more for rest, and of the two wants thirst is always the stronger, always the one first satisfied. Thirst kills while hunger merely exhausts. A million is very apt to bring with it as much as a post, and more people are afraid both of responsibility and of the absence of external stimulus to exertion than cynics are willing to allow. Englishmen all talk as if they preferred work to idleness, but unless they belong to the creative order, we never see them do any except for some object other than the work itself. High rank, too, is not to such men so attractive as their absurd reverence for its possessors would seem to indicate. Some rank might be pleasant, but to men who are neither born to it, nor have seen it for years in the far distance—as an Attorney-General, for instance, sees it so clearly that when he buys land he pays more for places with pleasant names—high rank would be simply a bore, would involve too complete a "solution in the continuity" of their past lives. Sway is a passion with most strong men, but then at heart they all want to rule by volition, as the Cæsars once did, and Sultans do still, not by pursuance, or influence, or hard work, and this is the one position which in the nineteenth century and among English speaking people is absolutely unattainable. It is possible to be Premier or President, not possible to be Haroun al Raschid, or even Napoleon. The crave for luxury, the state of feeling which was painted by Ben Jonson in the *Alchemist*, probably exists as of old, but people either keep it quiet or confuse it with the desire for rest, or more frequently interfere into it a desire for intellectual luxuriousness, which materially changes its character. Sybaritism is as possible as ever to the rich, if they really desired it, as for instance they desire distinction, and if the passion were very strong, we should have more Sybarites, more men of the Oriental type living the life which "Ouida" this week tries to paint in *Chandos*, and Disraeli did paint in the *Young Duke* and a chapter or two of *Alroy*, but which has scarcely been lived since the Crillons and Montmorencies were swept from their high seats. The last specimens left must be sought in Vienna and St. Petersburg, though the type may and probably will, reappear one day in tropical America. Ease and a leisure full of the world, but not worried by it, are far more sought than those great positions of which under-graduates dream day-dreams full of romance, and heroism, and success, and the incessant toil which at forty seems a drawback to any career however promising.

The majority of English middle-class men if they shape their thoughts in words, would allow that certain conditions are essential to make a perfect external ideal. First an estate, so that they may live when they please in the country among trees and verdure, away from the roar and the press, and eight letter deliveries a day, yet may plunge in again when the humor suits them, almost at will. The estate should be big enough to give some occupation, some patronizing relation to many men, some possibility of experiment, and waste, and luxury, and yet not involve much responsibility or the necessity for an incessant change of residence. There should be some rank, not too high, not so high that an invitation may alter permanently the social grade of the invited, but high enough to establish some claim to social deference, to ensure social equality with all men without pushing, to marry anybody without remark, to impose on servants, to act as a gilt label when travelling abroad, to place its possessor among the class which has not to be inquired about. Then, too, there should be some influence on politics—not much, but enough to give the wisher a place in them, a right to take part if he sees cause, a hearing when he mentions them at table or in public, a recognition, however slight, from governing people, and a possibility of being influential in his degree while he sits quiet. Too high rank is a bore, but to see that any line of action is impossible for want of rank is also a bore, one to be avoided when wishing for an ideal. Well, there is one position in England which secures just those essentials—that of a country baronet with twelve thousand a year in land and a seat for his division of his county. That we deliberately believe to be the most comfortable position—we do not say the best or noblest—but the one with the greatest means of enjoyment and usefulness without overwork now attainable among mankind, the position most nearly resembling the latent ideal of the average Englishman. It includes most things, from possibilities of high spiritual culture to possibilities of good cooking, admits most things from life as Premier to life as a farmer, and demands nearly nothing. It is the beau ideal of English life.

The only man we knew who ever had it was a hyposhondriac who would have given it all for one hour of healthy labor as a hodman.

SERMONS AND THEIR PREACHERS.

THE London *Review* has an article on "Sermons and their Preachers," commencing as follows:

There is a fashion in sermons as well as in other things: a fashion in goodness as well as in the means and measures by which it is inculcated. It is said that every dog has his day; and the same may be said of almost everything under the sun. Particular forms of vice, as well as of virtue, have their run, and, in their turn, give place to others, which are generally of an opposite tendency. It is a kind of see-saw; one up and one down, and so on till the changes are rung *ad infinitum*. Like all other fashions, that in sermons may be attributed to the success of some one more original than his neighbors, who has started a new style. His success, which is judged by the congregations he draws, encourages others to follow in the same train. Man is an imitative animal, and they who can originate or direct are but few. The clergy are no exception to the rule that the multitude follow the few. Intent upon doing good, they are on the alert to catch at every indication of improvement, and are ready to copy whatever has been found most conducive to the end they have in view. Of course each man has his own bias, his own tendencies and prejudices, which more or less control him in the selection of his model; and so far, he shows and preserves his individuality. But in the main the majority are copyists, which is not, we think, disproved by the fact that all do not follow in the same groove. Nothing illustrates this more than the style, terms, and phraseology which have prevailed at different times. There was a style which represented the Laudian and Non-jurors' schools; and subsequently a kind of freemasonry in language by which every one might be recognized who was affected by the Evangelical and Tractarian movements. So, also, in more recent times, the German and Rationalistic schools have adopted a peculiarity of expression and tone of thought by which they may very readily be distinguished. The small band of muscular Christians have adopted the mannerism of their leader; and the Dean of Westminster has invested with a peculiar charm a school of liberalism which he has embellished with his pictorial powers.

Go where we will, we find the mass building upon other men's foundations, and adopting thoughts and expressions which are not their own, but were recommended to them by the genius or eloquence of some one who has touched some chord in their hearts. We do not blame them for this. On the contrary, there is a certain wisdom in it; but we speak of it as a fact, that there is a fashion in everything; in sermons as in other things. There is no doubt that it has caused a good deal of the distrust, and jealousies, and heart-burnings which have prevailed from time to time, when men have adopted peculiar views, which suited themselves and their own particular needs, and have rashly forced them upon their congregations, in disregard of their suitableness to the existing state of things. But that is always the case. There are men whose zeal outstrips their prudence, and who, taking up a thing hotly, pursue it without moderation. Such men are sure to burn their fingers and get themselves into trouble, and they are always to be found in the outskirts of the camp of great men, waiting for the watchwords, and ready to carry off and make what capital they can out of the little trivialities which lie on the surface. There is, doubtless, a wisdom in copying, because it secures a certain amount of high and noble sentiments; but, on the other hand, it tends to destroy individuality, divides men into classes and schools, and stereotypes certain views and phrases. It leads also to mannerism, and that is, we think, a great evil in the matter of such great moment.

The article concludes with the following sensible remarks:

There is nothing more disgusting than affectation, whether in the pulpit or out of it. Everything that is artificial, that is not genuine, displeases, more especially when it is brought into matters of such great and vital moment as religion. The old saying that we must ourselves weep if we would make others weep lies at the root of all preaching. Men must feel the value and importance of the duties which they desire to inculcate, and in inculcating them their language must come from the heart. If this were more deeply felt, sermons would be less dull and more profitable. Preachers would be guided more by matter than by time; they would leave off when they had said their say, and would not prolong their discourses by "vain repetitions," which weary, and are without profit, because they have allotted to themselves a certain fixed time for their sermons.

SHAKSPEAREAN MOTTOES FOR THE FENIANS.

We will make for Ireland presently.
[Richard II., Act 1, Scene 4.

—To-morrow next
We will for Ireland; and 'tis time, I trow.
[Richard II., Act 2, Scene 1.

What, are there no posts dispatched for Ireland?
How shall we do for money for these wars?
[Richard II., Act 2, Scene 1.

The wind sits fair for news to go to Ireland,
But none returns. For us to levy power
Proportionably to the enemy
Is all impossible. [Richard II., Act 2, Scene 2.

The uncivil kernes of Ireland are in arms,
And temper clay with blood of Englishmen.
[2d part of King Henry VI., Act 3, Scene 1.

The following should be adopted by C. O. I. R. Stephens:

—From Ireland coming,
Bringing rebellion broached on his sword.
[King Henry V., Act 5, Scene 1.

To Ireland I. Our separated fortune
Shall keep us both the safer.
[Macbeth, Act 2, Scene 3.

Whiles I in Ireland nourish a mighty band.
[2d part of King Henry VI., Act 3, Scene 1.

—From Ireland come I with my strength
And reap the harvest which that rascal sowed.
[2d part of King Henry VI., Act 3, Scene 1.

RELICS OF TYRANNY.

THERE is a room in Venice containing a curious and fearful collection. There are the rack, the horse, the boot, the wheel, the chord, the strangling-chair, arm-screws and thumb-screws, and many other contrivances for stretching or compressing, dislocating and crushing, the poor human body and its several members. There are other more ingenious, and almost more terrible, because more treacherous instruments; boxes, and vessels, and bottles, once full of strange and subtle, rapid or slow poisons; scent-bottles from which leaped a knife to gash the fair cheek, or split the beautiful nostrils, or otherwise mutilate the lovely face as it bent over them to inhale the perfume; jewel-cases from which some long, sharp needle would start, or some pungent mixture or detonating powder should be suddenly cast to extinguish the bright eye, hastening to inspect her wedding ornaments or her lover's offering; necklaces which should contract round the white neck; bracelets which should run into the snowy arm; helmets, breast-plates, guantlets, secret pistols, which should perform the same offices to the warriors of the age; implements of dreadful ingenuity, which conjure up dark scenes of horrible cruelty and subtle, remorseless vengeance, not to speak of other guilt too often acted in that time and country. Amidst these ingenious but abominable treasures of tyranny, whether loyal, oligarchical or democratical, I doubt whether Alphonso could have selected a more subtle and tremendous instrument of torture and revenge than that which he chose for the punishment of Tasso. He resolved to accuse him of madness; to wring from him first, if possible, an acknowledgment of his offence, and if that failed, a confession of madness; thus saving his honor in all points, he would have him at his mercy, to deal with him as he pleased. He appears, however, first of all to have done all he could to drive him really out of his senses.—*Milman's Life of Tasso.*

DAY BY DAY.

EVERY day has its dawn,
Its soft and silent eve,
Its noontide hours of bliss or bale;
Why should we grieve?

Why do we heap huge mounds of years
Before us and behind,
And scorn the little days that pass
Like angels on the wind?

Each turning round a small sweet face
As beautiful as near;
Because it is so small a face
We will not see it clear;

We will not clasp it as it flies,
And kiss its lips and brow;
We will not bathe our wearied souls
In its delicious Now.

And so it turns from us, and goes
Away in sad disdain;
Though we would give our lives for it,
It never comes again.

Yet, every day has its dawn,
Its noontide and its eve:
Live while we live, giving God thanks—
He will not let us grieve.

MISS MULOCH.

THE MIRACLE OF BRACCIANO.

From the Spectator.

WHENEVER ancient Rome was in peril, and the patricians wished to arouse the masses to the full sense of the impending danger, a miracle was wont to occur. An ox spoke, or wondrous apparitions appeared, or mysterious clangor broke the silence of night, and an awe fell upon the commonalty highly conducive to obedience or self-sacrifice. The priests, who have preserved so many of the traditions of the old world, who never, for example, to this day forgot that Rome is the only historic centre of a sovereignty based on a universal instead of a national idea, the one spot whose relation with Warsaw or Dublin is imaginatively as complete as with Florence, seem to have retained this weapon of statecraft also. They have just performed a miracle, and an exceedingly effective one, which has awed the lower populace of Rome and stirred up Voltairian Frenchmen to careful investigation, a double effect, which enables us to see for once clearly how ecclesiastical miracles are got up.

A brigand of a peculiarly atrocious character, known to have been guilty of repeated murders and horrible acts of cruelty, fell recently into the hands of the Papal authorities. Although very unwilling to inflict capital punishment, the authorities thought this man's crimes too great for endurance, and he was sentenced to decapitation at Bracciano, a little town about twenty-six miles from Rome. The guillotine was erected, and on the 23d of May the criminal was led to it, and bound down in the regular way, between two upright slides, in which the heavy knife runs. The instrument was set in motion, and the knife began to descend, when the sides suddenly slipped together into the form of a V, so as to prevent the descent of the knife on the throat which lay protected by the converging beams. The machine was so disarranged that hours must elapse before it was again in working order, and the crowd, at once superstitious and hostile to the law, clamored for a reprieve. The Pope, on hearing of the occurrence, of course accepted it as a Providence, and ordered the wretched man to be set free, a mercy received by the brigand with the sneering comment, "Oh, these confounded priests are going to make a miracle!" Immediately after Rome was inundated with a printed report of the occurrence, which is now before us, and which attributes the entire series of incidents to the personal interposition of the Blessed Virgin. This narrative is not the work of a mere ecclesiastical sensation-monger, but is hawked publicly about Rome, where nothing, not even a card of invitation, can be printed without the previous imprimatur of the Grand Inquisitor, and its circulation has been openly promoted by the officials.

The document contains the account which the powers who preside in Rome wish to disseminate amongst the population, and actually circulate by means that according to the law of Rome are obtainable only through their agency and by their favor. Upon this head there is not the possibility of raising a doubt. The shape and language of the publication are equally characteristic and unambiguous. It forms a broadside, with a coarse woodcut of the "Virgin conceived without stain" at the top. We there read how the criminal received the announcement of the fatal hour in meditative silence, his sole ejaculation having been a sentimental regret that his execution should contaminate the virgin purity of the month of May, consecrated to the service of the Madonna. On leaving the prison we are told that as he passed an image of the Virgin, the culprit instinctively looked up to it with fervor, saying, in a half-suppressed tone, "Ah! were I really not to die thus, I know that it is to the Madonna that I should owe this grace!" And now comes the culminating moment of the hour. Having mounted the scaffold and recommended himself to God for the last time, he laid his head beneath the horrible knife; with a firm hand did the executioner loosen the edged blade, which came down swiftly, when, on touching the victim's neck, it stopped without injuring the same, one voice alone being heard in the awful silence, the voice of the sufferer, who, alive and unhurt, was addressing himself to the Mother of God with the words, "*Evviva Maria!*" It will be observed that here we have a circumstantial narrative of all the details of the supernatural incident; for the sharp-edged knife is spoken of as having actually come down upon the neck of the condemned, and there to have lain on it with the gentleness of an innocuous feather ruff, through the merciful intervention of an all powerful Virgin Mary, who had been touched by the criminal's sentimental reverence for her particular self. It is as complete and striking a piece of supernatural effect as can be conceived, and we are not astonished to be informed that the imagination of the devout and the brigand classes has been specially inflamed by the incident, and thrown into an exceptional transport of excitement. In fact, the composition has been a successful piece of authorship, and has had a decided run in Rome, where the brigands and assassins now being enrolled, almost publicly, by the ex-King of Naples, are naturally rejoiced at so unmistakable an intervention of the Divine power on their behalf. If they may commit crime, yet be saved from its consequences, enlistment pays, and enlistments, consequently, are increasing rapidly.

The success of the scheme would have been complete but for one untoward incident. It happens that Bracciano lies within the territory still occupied by French troops, and Gen. Montebello did not altogether approve either the miracle, the Virgin Mary not being a properly authorized State official, or the excitement it had caused in Rome. He availed himself of his military authority to order the matter to be investigated by secular persons, and we have reason to know that the result was a report that the man's life had been saved by the slipping together of the vertical beams, an occurrence absolutely impossible unless the affair had been previously arranged with the executioner. Of course that report will not reach the Romans, or probably the Pope, the latter of whom will continue to regard the affair as a merciful accident, and the latter as a proof positive either that the Virgin favors the cause of the ex-King, or, which is more probable, that devotion to her will excuse even Bourbon brigands from the consequences of their crime. It is not often that the genesis of an ecclesiastical miracle can be so clearly traced or that the priests venture to invent so little. In this instance they have adhered to facts with commendable closeness, the single falsity being that the intervention of the Virgin is substituted for that of the executioner and those whom he obeyed. It is quite possible even that the brigand, though he did not believe in the miracle, did put up the prayers to the Madonna with which a Southern Italian prefaces every act good and bad, almost, as it were, by instinct, and as readily among crowds as when alone. The people are the more ready to believe because the Romish Church has for ages taught, through every variety of parable and legend, that the only genuinely merciful personage in the heavenly hierarchy, the only one who will save the sinner without external acts, who can and will grant pardon to the repentant "betwixt the saddle and the ground," is the Virgin. God with the priests is a wrathful being to be propitiated, Christ only the head of a cult who daily offers Himself in sacrifice; it is in the Virgin alone that conditionless mercy, or mercy independent of all but a change of heart, is to be found. This is the secret of her worship, a secret of which Rome knows well how to avail herself, by stories in which the guiltiness of the pardoned does but intensify the reverence of the devout for that infinite pity for mankind they elsewhere never expect to find. The contrast between the exquisite beauty of the conception and the villanous uses to which it is turned is almost appalling, and strikingly characteristic of Rome, where a Pontiff imprisons unjustly because he is a Vicar of Christ, and a whole people is pauperized and oppressed because all power must, in an ideal state, be confined to those who have avowedly dedicated themselves first of all to the service of the Most High.

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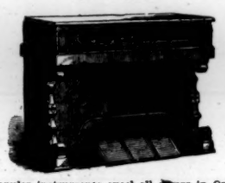

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WILL CURE
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Resulting from any cause whatsoever.

H
PROSTRATION OF THE SYSTEM
INDUCED BY
SEVERE HARDSHIPS,
EXPOSURE,
FEVERS,
OR
DISEASES OF CAMP LIFE.
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will find this Bitters a pure Tonic, not dependent on bad liquors for their almost miraculous effects.

O
DYSPEPSIA,
AND DISEASES RESULTING FROM DISORDERS OF THE LIVER AND DIGESTIVE ORGANS,
ARE CURED BY
HOOFLAND'S GERMAN BITTERS.
This Bitters has performed more cures, gives better satisfaction, has more testimony, has more respectable people to vouch for it, than any other article in the market

O
We defy any one to contradict this assertion, and
WILL PAY $1,000
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HOOFLAND'S GERMAN BITTERS,
WILL CURE EVERY CASE OF
CHRONIC OR NERVOUS DEBILITY
AND
DISEASES OF THE KIDNEYS.

F
Observe the following Symptoms resulting from Disorders of the Digestive Organs:
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L
REMEMBER,
that this Bitters is not Alcoholic, contains no Rum or Whiskey, and cannot make Drunkards, but is the Best Tonic in the World.

READ WHO SAYS SO.

[From the Rev. W. D. Seigfried, Pastor of Twelfth Baptist Church, Phil.]

GENTLEMEN: I have recently been laboring under the distressing effects of indigestion, accompanied by a prostration of the nervous system. Numerous remedies were recommended by friends, and some of them tested, but without relief. Your Hoofland's German Bitters were recommended by persons who had tried them, and whose favorable mention of these Bitters induced me to try them. I must confess that I had an aversion to Patent Medicines from the "thousand and one" quack "Bitters," whose only aim seems to be to palm off sweetened and drugged liquor upon the community in a sly way, and the tendency of which, I fear, is to make many a confirmed drunkard. Upon learning that yours was really a medicinal preparation, I took it, with happy effect. Its action, not only upon the stomach, but upon the nervous system, was prompt and gratifying. I feel that I have derived great and permanent benefit from the use of a few bottles. Very respectfully yours,
W. D. SEIGFRIED, No. 254 Shackamaxon st.

A
[From the Rev. R. D. Fendall, Assistant Editor *Christian Chronicle*, Phil.]
I have derived decided benefit from the use of Hoofland's German Bitters, and feel it my privilege to recommend them as a most valuable tonic, to all who are suffering from general debility or from diseases arising from derangement of the liver.
Yours truly, E. D. FENDALL.

[From Rev. D. Merrige, Pastor of the Passyunk Baptist Church, Phil.]
From the many respectable recommendations given to Dr. Hoofland's German Bitters, I was induced to give them a trial After using several bottles I found them to be a good remedy for debility, and a most excellent tonic for the stomach.
D. MERRIGE.

From Rev. Wm. Smith, formerly Pastor of the Vincentown and Millville (N. J.) Baptist Churches.]
Having used in my family a number of bottles of your Hoofland's German Bitters, I have to say that I regard them as an excellent medicine, specially adapted to remove the diseases they are recommended for. They strengthen and invigorate the system when debilitated, and are useful in disorders of the liver, loss of appetite, etc. I have also recommended them to several of my friends, who have tried them, and found them greatly beneficial in the restoration of health.
Yours truly, WILLIAM SMITH,
966 Hutchinson street, Phil.

N
[From the Rev. Joseph H. Kennard, Pastor of the Tenth Baptist Church.]
I have been frequently requested to connect my name with commendations of different kinds of medicines, but regarding the practice as out of my appropriate sphere, I have in all cases declined; but with a clear proof in various instances, and particularly in my own family, of the usefulness of Dr. Hoofland's German Bitters, I depart for once from my usual course, to express my full conviction that, *for general debility of the system, and especially for Liver Complaint, it is a safe and valuable preparation.* In some cases it may fail; but usually, I doubt not, it will be very beneficial to those who suffer from the above causes.
Yours, very respectfully,
J. H. KENNARD, Eighth, below Coates st.
Philadelphia, Dec. 24, 1864.

Rev. J. S. Herman, of the German Reformed Church, Kutztown, Berks county, Pa., was cured of Dyspepsia of twenty years' standing.

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Rev. J. Newton Brown, D.D., Editor of the Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge and *Christian Chronicle*, Phil.;
Rev. Thos. Winter, D.D., Pastor of Roxborough Baptist Church,
Rev. Levi G. Beck, Pastor of the Baptist Church, Pemberton, N. J., formerly of the North Baptist Church, Phil., at present Pastor of the Baptist Church, Chester, Pa.
These gentlemen express, in the strongest terms, their favorable opinion of these Bitters.

D
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